

EXAMINING JUVENILE INTENSIVE SUPPORT AND SUPERVISION PROGRAMS: A SEARCH FOR WHAT WORKS

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ABSTRACT

This major paper examines the constructs and applications of juvenile intensive support and supervision programs (ISSP) in Canada, United States, England/Wales, and Western Australia. This major paper also explores the historical, theoretical, political, and correctional system influences that have played a role in shaping the various models of ISSP that exist today. The current research literature supports the construct of ISSP as a hybrid of enhanced juvenile surveillance and accountability, while simultaneously providing youth and their families with essential treatment and rehabilitative services. The literature also supports interventions that target criminogenic needs and promote protective factors with the objective of building resiliency in young offenders and their families. This major paper concludes that there are a number of promising elements within the various applications of ISSP worldwide that could be incorporated in a single model; however, further independent outcome evaluations are needed, particularly in Canada, to establish the effectiveness of these interventions.

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DEDICATION

This major paper is dedicated to my children, Justin, Alexa, and Mikayla. I hope you all are able to realize your potential, be inspired to pursue your dreams, and believe you are capable of accomplishing anything you set your minds to.

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INTRODUCTION

The Call for Alternatives

Administering a fair, effective, and fiscally responsible justice system has long been a challenging aspiration for corrections officials and policy makers. Often, sensationalized media depictions of crime can trigger a moral panic resulting in intense public and political pressure on government and the courts to hold offenders more accountable and dispense more severe sanctions (Heir, 2008). These public responses to crime are often followed by social and legislative actions to reassure constituents that there is strong leadership in government and that matters of criminal justice are taken seriously (McRobbie and Thornton, 2002). Moral panics, public pressure, and political rhetoric all contribute to the imposition of ‘get tough’ measures resulting in increased policing, prison construction, and drug law enforcement, and a departure from welfare approaches, such as employment, housing, education, and treatment programs (Beckett and Sasson, 2005). Such responses carry inherent consequences of increasing prison populations and the overall operating costs of both the adult and youth criminal justice systems.

For decades, the rising costs of corrections and increased prison populations have stimulated the demand for alternatives to incarceration. Contributing to this predicament was the limiting nature of the justice system which typically only offered probation or imprisonment as punishments for offenders (MacKenzie, 2006). Consequently, criminal court judges wrestled with the dilemma that many offenders did not fit easily into one of these two categories. The problem was not in determining an appropriate sentence for the very serious offender who clearly was deserving of a custodial disposition, or for adjudicating the minor offender whose crimes required a reprimand no greater than standard probation, but rather in passing judgment on the offender whose offences were of a severity that did not require incarceration, but called

for a more intensive level of intervention and supervision than regular probation afforded. As a result, legislators have been compelled to develop alternative strategies to address this need, while maintaining an adherence to the competing demands of crime control, offender rehabilitation, and fiscal prudence.

Intermediate sanctions became a popular tactic to attend to these issues. Heralded as the new panacea in criminal justice, intermediate sanctions offered lower cost, community-based alternatives that did not present a significantly greater risk to the public's safety (Tonry, 1997). The rationale for intermediate punishments was based, in part, on the assumption that a wider range of sentencing options would allow judges to better match the punishments they issued to the seriousness of the offences committed (Petersen and Palumbo, 1997). Some examples of intermediate sanctions include house arrest, electronic monitoring, split sentencing, boot camps, fines, community work service, and intensive probation supervision (Byrne, 1990; MacKenzie, 2006; Tonry, 1997).

In theory, these sanctions could be scaled in severity to be proportionate to the seriousness of the offence, thus achieving a measure of just deserts. Additionally, intermediate sanctions offered an effective way to deal with violations of probation conditions. That is, rather than simply ignoring the breach, imposing more regular probation, or revoking the sentence and incarcerating the offender, intermediate sanctions provided judges with the ability to impose meaningful and proportionate consequences (Tonry, 1997). In terms of placement on the continuum of punishment severity, intermediate sanctions fit nicely between regular probation and imprisonment.

Juvenile justice systems often incorporate policies analogous to their adult predecessors based on their experiences dealing with similar issues. The adoption of intensive supervision

strategies in youth justice is an example of this trend. Rising custody populations, increasing operational costs, moral panics, and political rhetoric were all relevant to the conservative ‘tough on crime’ response and subsequent introduction of an enhanced form of probation. However, unlike the traditional adult models, the youth programs balanced enforcement measures with treatment and rehabilitative interventions (Armstrong, 1991).

The philosophical framework of juvenile intensive supervision programs recognizes the exceptional and complicated issues involved with adolescence and delinquency. Family relationships, schools, peer groups, employment, substance abuse, self esteem, and identity formation are but a few of the stressors adolescents must contend with regularly (Eccles and Gootman, 2002). Understanding the role these issues play in the decision of a young person to engage in criminal activity is critical in creating an effective design for an intensive supervision program.

The purpose of this major paper is to gain a comprehensive understanding of the historical, theoretical, political, economic, legal, and social factors that contributed to the development of juvenile intensive support and supervision programs. Various program models in the United States, England and Wales, Australia, and Canada will be examined. Through an analysis of the available literature, these various program models will be compared and assessed for their effectiveness. To date, the findings are mixed. On the one hand, some researchers argue that there is little evidence to support intensive supervision as a method to reduce recidivism; others suggest intensive supervision may be effective in reducing the frequency and seriousness of offending in serious young offenders. It will be argued here that there are promising elements within some of the program models that could be utilized to develop a more complete and effective intensive support and supervision program. However, further external evaluations,

particularly in Canada and Australia, are required before a definitive conclusion can be reached about the effectiveness of juvenile intensive supervision programs.

Chapter 1: DEVELOPMENT OF INTENSIVE SUPERVISION PROGRAMS

1.1 Intensive Supervision Movement

During the 1950's and 1960's, adult correctional systems incorporated initiatives, such as halfway houses, curfews, and intensive probation programs, under the pretext of rehabilitative programs in an effort to be less restrictive than imprisonment, but more severe than regular probation (Tonry, 1997). Early attempts at intensive supervision focused largely on reducing caseload sizes (Clear, Flynn, & Shapiro, 1987). The assumption was that by reducing probation officer caseloads, the level of supervision would intensify, thereby reducing the likelihood of recidivism. Studies of early intensive supervision initiatives, like the California Special Intensive Parole Unit, which operated from 1953 to 1964, and the San Francisco Project of the late 1960's, found reduced caseloads and more frequent officer/offender contact did not significantly affect recidivism (John Howard Society, 1991).

In the 1970's, faith in the justice system's ability to rehabilitate criminals was shaken by Martinson's (1974) infamous conclusion that 'nothing works'. This mantra continued to be the dominant discourse in correctional practice for nearly a decade. Alternatives to incarceration were reserved for property and drug offenders, and low risk violent offenders who did not pose a clear threat to society (Tonry, 1997). In the 1980's, reviews of offender rehabilitation literature began to uncover a more promising outlook for treatment interventions (Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, & Rooney, 2000). The concept of alternatives to incarceration was replaced with a discourse on intermediate sanctions; targeting offenders whose risk/needs assessments and crimes could be dealt with aptly in the community through mid-level punishments (Tonry, 1997).

A second wave of interest in intensive probation supervision programs for adult offenders emerged (Clear, Flynn, & Shapiro, 1987; MacKenzie, 2006). Highly touted examples of successful intensive supervision programs in New Jersey, Florida, and Georgia inspired the implementation of similar program models in many other US states (Goodstein and Sontheimer, 1997). According to Tonry (1997), intensive probation supervision programs typically involved reduced caseloads that provided for more contact between officers and probationers, and a greater detection of misconduct. However, if intensive supervision was to be considered meaningful, it needed to be fundamentally different than regular probation (Clear and Hardyman, 1990). More frequent officer contact, random drug testing, requirements to attend treatment, work, and perform community service, as well as the strict enforcement of restitution and other conditions gave intensive probation supervision this distinction (Petersilia and Turner, 1993). Typically, intensive supervision programs aimed to reduce prison populations, increase public protection, rehabilitate the offender, and save money (Clear and Hardyman, 1990).

According to Tonry (1997), intensive supervision can be administered either as a “front-end” or “back-end” program. In a front-end delivery model, judges control placement into the programs through their sentences. Front-end intensive supervision can include programs designed to divert lower risk offenders from prison for the purpose of alleviating institutional overcrowding. It can also include probation enhancement programs intended for offenders who either failed at regular probation or for offences that were serious enough that standard probation would not be appropriate (MacKenzie, 2006). Back-end programs draw their participants from the prison population. Eligible inmates are screened by corrections officials and placed in the program as part of a plan for early release or re-integration to the community.

1.2 Emergence of Juvenile Intensive Supervision

Goodstein and Sontheimer (1997) suggested that the creation of intensive supervision programs for young offenders was slower because of the punitive nature of adult program models. The lesser role of rehabilitative measures in these models was contradictory to the overall principles of juvenile justice, and contributed to the reluctance of juvenile justice professionals to adopt similar tactics. However, much like the adult experience, juvenile justice practices were affected by the hegemonic beliefs of the time. Rehabilitative ideals of the 1960's were replaced with "get tough" approaches to address serious young offenders (Pennell, Curtis, & Scheck, 1990). By the mid 1980's, the need to find alternatives began to emerge as youth custody counts grew, and policy makers directed their attention toward increasing public safety, lowering juvenile recidivism, and saving money (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994). This awareness led the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in the United States to introduce an intensive aftercare program for juvenile parolees in 1987 (Weibush et al., 2005).

Krisberg, Neuenfeldt, Wiebush, and Rodriguez (1994) acknowledged that juvenile intensive supervision programs could be constructed in a variety of ways and involve a great number of different strategies. Goodstein and Sontheimer (1997) identified fundamentally different models of intensive supervision, such as: targeting low to moderate risk juvenile offenders for diversion from residential placement; reducing the institutional stays of these types of offenders through early release and subsequent intensive aftercare; and reintegrating high-risk, serious, chronic juvenile offenders into the community following normal-length institutional stays. Furthermore, in some jurisdictions, simply increasing the number of monthly contacts between the youth and probation officer or reducing caseload sizes could constitute an intensive supervision program. Krisberg et al. (1994) advised that some programs incorporated the use of

treatment services, whereas others relied more heavily on supervision and enforcement.

Armstrong (1991) suggested that juvenile intensive supervision programs typically placed an equal emphasis on rehabilitative services and control measures. Such an approach is consistent with the philosophical framework of many juvenile corrections systems which promote public safety, treatment, and crime prevention in their mandates (see correctiveservices.wa.gov.au, 2009; ojjdp.ncjrs.org, 2009; YCJA, 2003; yjb.gov.uk, 2009).

Weibush and Hamparian (1991) argued that juvenile intensive supervision programs should have clearly defined goals and objectives. The absence of these can result in programs being implemented unsuccessfully. Likewise, programs that focused solely on social control and ignored the risk factors contributing to delinquency could also expect poor outcomes (Robertson, Grimes, & Rogers, 2001). For intensive supervision to be effective, it must be substantially different than previous interventions, and include strategies for both offender control and treatment (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994; Krisberg, et al., 1994). To date, much of the research has supported the construct of intensive supervision as a hybrid of enhanced juvenile surveillance and accountability, while simultaneously providing youth with essential treatment and rehabilitative services (see Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994; Petersilia and Turner, 1993; Wiebush et al., 2005).

Since the Americans popularized the use of intensive supervision programs for juvenile offenders, other jurisdictions, such as England and Wales, Australia, and Canada, have followed and developed program models of their own. Each of the specialized interventions in these countries can be considered through a lens of juvenile delinquency theory, political agendas, and correctional systems mandates.

Chapter 2: RATIONALE FOR JUVENILE INTENSIVE SUPERVISION PROGRAMS

2.1 Theoretical Underpinnings of Intensive Supervision Programs

To be an ‘at-risk’ youth can imply many things. Keating, Tomishima, Foster, and Alessandri (2002) suggested that at-risk youth come from single-parent homes, demonstrated emotional or behavioral problems, and lacked support to manage developmental tasks effectively. Kazdin (1993) referred to at-risk behaviors as those activities that adolescents engaged in that increased their likelihood of undesirable psychological, social, and health consequences. Resnick and Burt (1996) added to this notion of at-risk behavior by including early sexual activity, truancy, tobacco/alcohol/drug use, running away from home/foster home, and associating with delinquent peers as examples. They also identified certain environments or situations that placed children at-risk, including poverty, dangerous neighborhoods, and family dysfunction (e.g. abusive/neglectful caregivers).

Having knowledge and awareness of the factors that contribute to the healthy development of all young people is crucial in developing effective community programs for adolescents (Eccles and Gootman, 2002). As well, understanding delinquency theory and the dynamic criminogenic risk factors that contribute to delinquency is an important element of good program design (Krisberg et al., 1994; Mackenzie, 2005). Juvenile intensive support and supervision programs have largely been developed with these theoretical concepts in mind; influenced by theories of adolescent development, social control, strain, and social learning.

2.1.1 Adolescent Development

Eccles and Gootman (2002) described adolescence as the critical stage between childhood and adulthood when youth acquire the attitudes, competencies, values, and social skills needed to become successful adults. This endeavor has become increasingly difficult over the past several years. Historically, adolescence had been viewed as a period of “storm and stress” where youth experienced increased conflict with their parents, mood disruptions and rates of reckless, norm-breaking, and antisocial behavior (Arnett, 1999: 319). During adolescence, youth experience dramatic physical, psychological, and social changes unlike any other developmental stage of life (Eccles and Gootman, 2002). This is also a time when young people take more risks and experiment with a variety of behaviors and personalities that could significantly affect the rest of their lives.

Eccles and Gootman (2002) suggested that extensive exposure to themes of violence, sexuality, and substance abuse in the media, as well as the deterioration of neighborhoods and schools as a result of crime, drugs, and poverty all contribute to the heightened difficulty that a proportion of youth have navigating successfully through adolescence. Further complicating this stage of development is the increasingly complex, technical, and competitive demands of education, employment, and social settings. Young people who struggle to succeed in these environments may abandon traditional pro-social endeavors and aspirations, and gravitate toward anti-social peer groups and engage in high-risk activities, such as substance use and delinquency (Hoge, 2001).

Altschuler and Brash (2004) suggested that adolescent offenders have a greater disadvantage than their non-delinquent counterparts in meeting the challenges of adolescence. For young offenders, the typical correspondence between chronological age and development

can be interrupted. What generally would be considered normal mastery of an age appropriate trait or skill for some youth may not apply to many juvenile offenders. This is often manifested in a chronologically older adolescent offender possessing the values, maturity, and self-control of a much younger youth. Altschuler and Brash (2004) further argued that there is debate as to whether this arrested development predates entry into the youth justice system or is a consequence of being in the system itself. However, there is agreement that the developmental disadvantages experienced by many juvenile offenders can result in experiencing greater challenges in school, finding employment, and building positive relationships (Altschuler and Brash, 2004).

Table 2.1 Personal and Social Assets for Positive Youth Development

Developmental Domain	Assets
Physical Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good health habits • Good health risk management
Intellectual Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of life skills • Decision making skills • Vocational skills • School success • Critical thinking
Psychological and Emotional Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good emotional self-regulation • Coping skills • Conflict resolutions skills • Sense of responsibility • Pro-social values • Future planning
Social Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feelings of connectedness and trust to parents, peers, and other adults • Attachment to pro-social institutions (e.g. school, church, clubs/teams) • Feeling connected and valued by larger social networks

(adapted from Eccles and Gootman, 2002)

Eccles and Gootman (2002) identified a set of personal and social assets that facilitated positive youth development (see Table 2.1). These assets categorically fit in one of the following domains: physical development; intellectual development; psychological and emotional development; and social development. Eccles and Gootman (2002) argued that these personal and social assets were best developed in environments that provided the following opportunities: physical and psychological safety; appropriate structure; supportive relationships; belongingness and meaningful inclusion; positive social norms; support for efficacy and mattering; skill building; and integrated efforts between family, school and community.

Considering ISSP is intended for higher risk youth, it is reasonable to assume, as Altschuler and Brash (2004) suggested, that these youth would have significant deficits in many of the asset domains. Eccles and Gootman (2002) argued that it was critical for community youth programs to take these developmental changes and needs into consideration. In this regard, ISSP should be no different. Program developers should ensure that ISSP initiatives promote the strengthening and enhancement of the various personal and social assets necessary for healthy adolescent development. Theoretically, as ISSP youth develop a mastery of these assets, they would also acquire the resiliency and protective factors necessary to minimize their risk of re-offending.

2.1.2 Ecological Systems Theory

Bronfenbrenner (1977; 1979) also recognized the significance of the interplay between individuals and their environments. He argued that individuals co-existed in a reciprocal relationship with their environments and defined the scientific study of this relationship as the *ecology of human development* (1977: 514). According to Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems

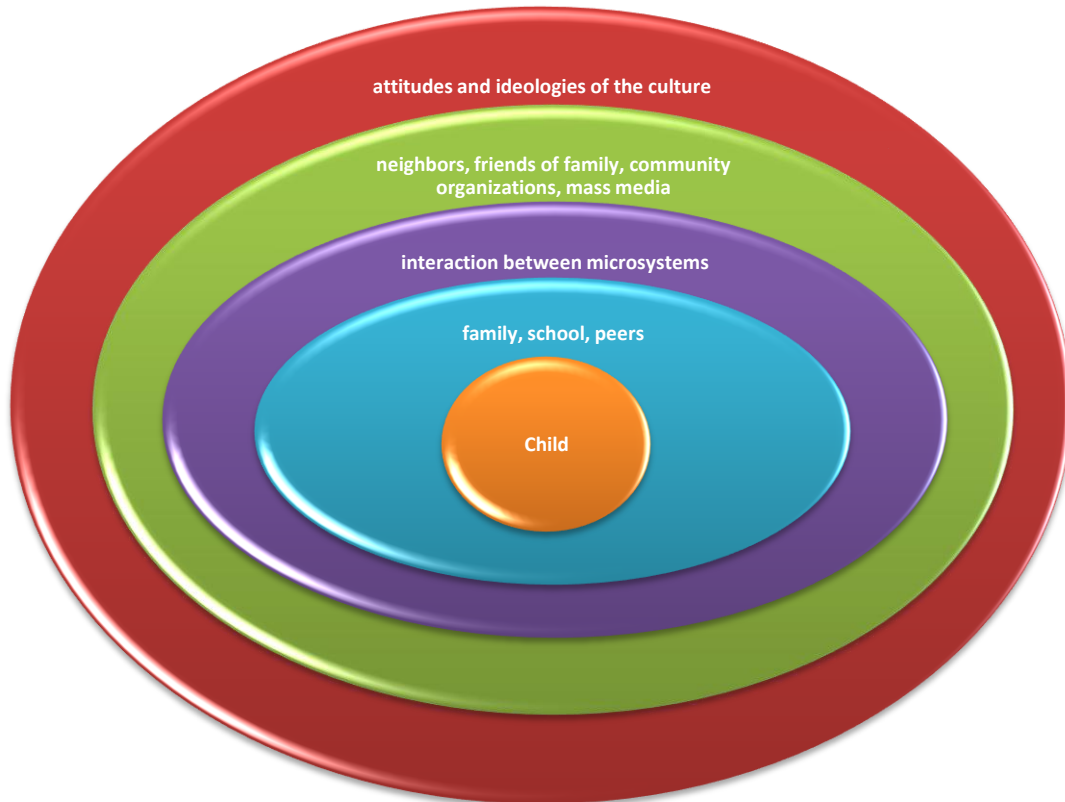
Theory (1979), interactions between individuals and their environments occurred at various levels, including: personal (micro); organizational (meso); community (exo); and cultural (macro) systems. Individuals were not passive in their relationships with these systems, but rather reciprocated influence, progressively developing and shaping the surroundings in which they lived.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) argued that these systems were nested concentrically within the ecological environment (see Figure 2.1). The *microsystem* is the pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting. Rice (1998) explained that the microsystem consisted of immediate influences that a child had contact with, such as the child's family, school, peers, and church group. The individual perception of these experiences was critical to shaping one's social identity, knowledge, personality, and beliefs (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the *mesosystem* comprised the interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participated. Rice (1998) described the mesosystem as a reciprocal relationship between microsystems and asserted that a child's social development was best understood when the influences from many sources were considered in relation to one another.

Extending beyond the mesosystem is the *exosystem* which, according to Bronfenbrenner (1979), included any setting that the developing individual did not actively participate in, but could have a direct influence on the individual's immediate surroundings. Examples of settings within the exosystem include friends of the family, parent's workplace, community organizations, and the mass media (Rice, 1998). Although youth may not actively participate in one of these settings, they can still be indirectly influenced by them. For example, the

involvement of a community organization or program (i.e. ISSP) could influence parenting practices and thereby influence child development.

Figure 2.1 Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Social Ecological Model



The last system in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model was the *macrosystem*. This system included the ideologies, values, attitudes, laws, and customs of a particular culture (Rice, 1998). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), values and ideologies differed within a society's various socioeconomic, ethnic, religious, and other sub-cultural groups. For example, child-rearing practices may differ between rural and urban families. Likewise, the goals and expectations of upper-middle class parents for their children may be different than those of lower socioeconomic groups.

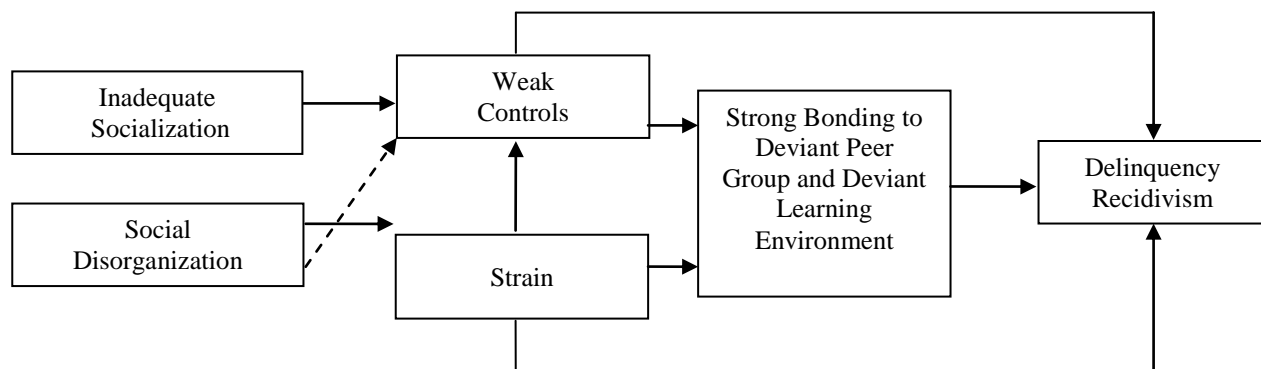
Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory provides a useful context to appreciate the importance of environmental influences on adolescent development and behavior. Within their environmental systems, youth can be affected, both positively and negatively, through the reciprocal relationships and experiences they have. Bronfenbrenner's model, however, does not account for natural or biological influences on delinquency. Developmental delays, mental illness, addictions, and/or other medical diagnoses are very common in many young offenders (Altschuler and Brash, 2004). Mears (2001) suggested that less serious mental disorders, such as conduct disorder, attention deficit disorder, and mood and anxiety disorders, were prevalent in approximately 80% of juvenile offenders. Similarly, a report out of British Columbia on youth involved in the justice system revealed that 61.8% were identified as having an intellectual, physical, sensory, emotional, behavioral, or learning disability (Joint Special Report, 2009). These internal issues, for the most part, exist independently of any environmental manipulation and require specialized individual treatment interventions to control or reduce their influence.

Despite the explanatory limitations of Ecological Systems Theory to account for the organic influences on delinquency, Bronfenbrenner (1979) provided an important context for future program developers to consider when devising community-based intervention strategies. Understanding the role and influence each environmental system has in the life of a developing young person (especially vulnerable or high risk youth) confirms the importance of targeted interventions like ISSP. A well designed ISSP initiative should offer youth and families opportunities to engage in positive reciprocal relationships across all ecological domains and develop strong bonds to the social institutions within these systems.

2.1.3 Integrated Social Control Theory

Intensive supervision programs for youth in the United States were developed with the belief that causes of delinquency were best explained through a combination of control, strain, and social learning theories (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994; Krisberg et al., 1994; Weibush et al., 2005). Elliott, Ageton, & Cantor (1979) introduced the notion of combining these three traditional theories into a single explanatory paradigm for delinquency. Elliott, Huizinga, & Ageton (1985) later dubbed this concept the *integrated social control* (ISC) model. Through the lens of control, strain, and learning theories, the ISC model offered a variety of sequential scenarios youth could experience before engaging in delinquency (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2 Integrated Control-Strain-Social Learning Model



(Source: Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994)

Control theorists, like Durkheim, Reckless, and Hirschi, generally assumed people, young and old, must be held in check and controlled to prevent criminal and delinquent behavior (Shoemaker, 1991). Thus, delinquency is to be expected and the question for criminologists is not “*why* did he do it?”, but rather “*why* did he *not* do it?” Shoemaker (1991) explained that control theorists believed that what separated delinquents from non-delinquents was the absence

of working personal or social control mechanisms. Personal control mechanisms involved individualistic factors typically related to notions of self-concept or esteem. Arguably, a youth with a healthier self-concept is better equipped psychologically to withstand the pressure to engage in delinquent behavior (Williams and McShane, 1988). In effect, social control systems involved attachments to social institutions, such as families, schools, and religious practices.

Travis Hirschi (1969) expounded on this notion of attachment to social institutions by elaborating on the role of the social bond; the connection between individuals and the dominant values of society. Hirschi (1969) characterized the social bond as having four dimensions: attachment; involvement; commitment; and belief. The strength of an individual's *attachment* to significant others or institutions could inhibit delinquency as did their *involvement* in conventional activities and behaviors. Hirschi argued that those who invested themselves in conventional society through education, employment, or reputation demonstrated a *commitment* to the social bond. Finally, those who had a *belief* that the rules of society were fair would generally not deviate from them. Hirschi (1969) suggested that weaknesses in any of these four dimensions of the social bond would permit a greater degree of delinquency to occur.

However, Hirschi's theory did not define which, if any, of the four dimensions of social bonding was more influential in preventing delinquency, or alternatively which dimensions, if weakened, would pose the greatest risk for a youth to engage in crime. In other words, is one element of the social bond more important than another? Does the presence of a strong attachment to family negate the effects of having weaker bonds to the other three dimensions? Hirschi's theory also failed to recognize the potential negative influence that strong attachments to anti-social family members or institutions (i.e. youth gang) could have.

Strain theory¹ was originally posited by Robert Merton in 1938. According to Merton, delinquency could be explained as a consequence of culturally defined goals and aspirations not being congruent to the availability of socially acceptable means to achieve those goals (Williams and McShane, 1988). Common examples of this discrepancy are proposed in the areas of education and financial success. When someone is unable to achieve society's prescribed expectations for success (e.g. financial) because of an unequal distribution of higher education opportunities or well paying jobs, these individuals may turn to illegitimate means (Shoemaker, 1991).

Although Merton's theory provided a reasonable explanation for some offences motivated by financial or material gain, it failed to account for most violent and sexual crimes. According to Rodriguez and Weisburd (1991), the role of strain theory in Elliott et al.'s ISC model involved the understanding that the discrepancies between culturally defined goals and the legitimate means to achieve them weakened the bonds to conventional social institutions (e.g. schools, families), thereby indirectly facilitating delinquency by aiding the opportunities for these disadvantaged youth to associate with other at-risk or delinquent youth.

The third influential theory in Elliott et al.'s ISC model was social learning. B. F. Skinner, in 1971, argued that behavior was formed and sustained by its consequences and that the nature and probability of reinforcement and punishment determined if the frequency of the behavior would increase or diminish (Williams and McShane, 1988). Social learning theory also recognized the function of imitation and modeling behavior. Simply stated, one can learn by observing the behavior of others (e.g. family, peers, non-parent adults, media characters). The quality of this learning was heightened when the observer identified with the person exhibiting the behavior, and if the behavior was followed by a rewarding consequence (Anderson et al.,

¹ Strain theory is also commonly referred to as "anomie theory" in criminology literature.

2003). This notion of modeling and reinforcement is particularly relevant when considering delinquency. Youth can acquire a substantial amount of antisocial skills and attitudes from their peer associations which, in turn, can be immediately reinforced through the acceptance and trust of the peer group.

Overall, the ISC model theorized that youth who failed to achieve societal expectations due to a lack of legitimate opportunities grow frustrated with the social institutions responsible for those goals. According to Rodreguez and Weisburd (1991), these weakened bonds to social institutions influence youth to associate and take on the antisocial norms and values of other similarly disposed young persons. Consequently, these disgruntled adolescents, through their experiences with and observations of delinquent peer groups, learn antisocial behaviors themselves, internalize their motivations, and are encouraged to engage in juvenile crime.

To combat these negative influences is an extremely challenging endeavor. Intensive supervision programs, through the utilization of specialized case workers or mentors, seek to capitalize on the learning process by modeling and reinforcing pro-social behaviors and attitudes. Youth involved in intensive supervision programs ideally would mimic many of the conventional behaviors demonstrated to them by their workers and respond favorably to the positive reinforcement to sustain those behaviors into adulthood. However, the journey to that point could be a long and tumultuous one. Realistically, the mentor cannot be expected to single-handedly effect radical change in the youth's anti-social attitudes, beliefs, and associations. This responsibility, as Bronfenbrenner (1979) suggested, is shared across several domains including the family, school, peers, community, and culture. Altschuler and Armstrong (1994) recognized that the combined occurrence of strain, weak controls by conventional groups, and strong bonds to delinquent groups generated a greater probability of delinquency or recidivism than any of the

three theories autonomously. Krisberg et al. (1994) suggested that the designers of juvenile intensive supervision programs should consider these three theories of delinquency and ensure that they are all accounted for by at least one intervention strategy within the program.

2.1.4 Host Provocation Theory

Host provocation (HP) theory posited that when at-risk youth, with many personal challenges (e.g. a history of abuse/neglect and behavior problems), are exposed to several antisocial stressors or provocations (e.g. delinquent peers, internet and media violence), delinquency was likely to occur (Blechman and Bopp, 2005). Furthermore, HP theory asserted that prolonged exposure to antisocial provocations represented a deficiency in internal and/or external social controls (e.g. poor self-regulation and/or poor parental supervision).

According to Blechman and Bopp (2005), HP theory is different from Hirschi's social control theory in that HP theory considered the interactions of diverse individual differences (e.g. learning disabilities, anxiety, depression) and environmental stimuli (e.g. family violence, substance use) at all stages of delinquency. Hypothetically, youth who were burdened with more personal challenges were more resistant to external social controls, and were slower to acquire the internal controls necessary to cope with the pressures to engage in delinquency. In effect, these youth become ideal *hosts* for delinquent provocation (Blechman and Bopp, 2005).

HP theory suggests positive outcomes are possible if juvenile offenders are matched with healthy, pro-social role models. The role and influence of an intensive supervision and support worker on their delinquent mentees mirrors this benefit. According to Blechman and Bopp (2005), the positive influences of a pro-social mentor-mentee relationship, such as the one

provided in some juvenile intensive supervision programs, could prevent recidivism in at least three ways:

- i) by increasing external controls, thereby assisting parents, teachers, and probation officers with supervision in the community;
- ii) by strengthening internal controls through the promotion of attachment bonds, self-regulation, and pro-social values; and
- iii) by reducing exposure to antisocial provocations, such as deviant peers, drugs and alcohol, and violent mass media through engagement in competing, pro-social activities (2005: 457).

The need for support and intervention seems clear when considering the constellation of adversities at-risk adolescents face. Not surprisingly, at-risk youth often continue to deal with challenges later in life. As adults, they have a disproportionately higher rate of divorce, unemployment, physical and psychiatric problems, substance abuse, involvement in the welfare system, and criminal activity (Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ramsey, 1989). The effect is not only felt on the individual, but on society in terms of health care, welfare, and legal costs (Keating et al., 2002).

Each of the theories discussed in this chapter provided an important context to the rationale and focus of ISSP interventions in the management and rehabilitation of young offenders. According to the literature reviewed, high risk youth should be supported across several domains of their communities, assisted in the acquisition and mastery of positive personal and social developmental assets, encouraged to form strong bonds to positive social institutions, and provided opportunities to learn from pro-social mentoring and role-modeling experiences.

All of these theories recognized the inherent vulnerability and risk of being a young person in a world of complex demands and pressures to succeed, fit-in, and establish an individual identity. The community provides an important stage for the various actors in a young

person's life (e.g. family, school, peers, mentors) to engage in reciprocal relationships and contribute to the youth's social development. However, when communities are faced with serious criminal behaviors in youth, the public often want justice and accountability; a task often charged to our political leaders.

2.2 Political Agenda

2.2.1 Public Confidence

Governments are often caught between appealing to the demands of their constituents and developing effective and fiscally prudent evidence-based policies. Attempting to appeal to the public is inherently complicated. Often, there is a significant gap between public perceptions of crime and reality. For example, in Latimer and Desjardins' (2008) survey of 7,201 Canadians, public confidence in the youth justice system was quite low. Approximately 80% of respondents believed that all forms of youth crime had increased over the past five years, when national youth crime statistics indicated that the youth crime rate had remained stable over the last decade (Latimer and Desjardins, 2008). Respondents in the survey also lacked confidence in the ability of the court to pass the right sentence, and were skeptical about the effectiveness of the correctional system in rehabilitating youth.

Generally, what the public understands of crime rates and sentencing practices in Canada is misguided and is largely based on anecdotal examples of high profile crimes and political rhetoric (Roberts, 2003). Even the attempts by those involved in the youth justice system to reassure Canadians that their communities are among the safest in the world have little effect on reducing public fears or instilling credibility in the youth justice system (Cohen, 1997). Peterson

and Palumbo (1997) shared this concern and argued that it was politicians, not criminological research, that typically influenced what the public perceived the realities of crime to be and what policies should be implemented. As Roberts (2003) explained, this influence can result in intense public and political pressure on governments to respond to a perceived youth crime crisis.

In the face of heightened perceptions of youth crime, governments typically respond with legislative action in an attempt to instill confidence among the public (McRobbie and Thornton, 2002). In 1994, the Canadian government undertook a review of its youth justice policies with the understanding that the public generally felt unsafe in their communities and was cynical of the youth justice courts (Cohen, 1997). At the time of this review, youth justice in Canada was legislated under the Young Offenders Act (YOA). Although the YOA was considered to be an improvement over its paternalistic predecessor, the Juvenile Delinquents Act, the YOA was still widely criticized for the lack of direction it provided youth court judges, particularly with respect to the order of priority its sentencing principles should be given (Department of Justice Canada, 2004). Consequently, by the mid 1990's, Canada was incarcerating its youth at a rate twice that of the United States, and up to 15 times more often than other European countries (Cohen, 1997). According to Cohen (1997), 82 % of Canadian youth being sentenced to custody in 1994-95 were non-violent.

The House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs concluded in their 1997 report that the Canadian youth justice system was in need of reform. The committee made several recommendations for changes to the Young Offenders Act and the youth justice system of the time, such as reducing the overreliance on the use of custody, increasing efforts to reintegrate young people into the community following custody, and directing more resources into rehabilitation and prevention programs (Cohen, 1997). In 1998, the Canadian government

released its response to these recommendations in the report, *A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice*. The strategy focused on youth crime prevention, providing young people with meaningful consequences for their offences, and the rehabilitation and reintegration of young offenders (Department of Justice Canada, 2004).

The strategy of the Canadian government for youth justice renewal was realized in April 2003 with the enactment of the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA). The YCJA provided clearer guidelines for the appropriate use of the formal youth justice system, established strict criteria for the use of incarceration, and offered a number of new sentencing options and alternatives to custody for youth court judges (Department of Justice Canada, 2004). Included in the list of new YCJA sentencing options was intensive support and supervision orders.

Politically, the notion of intensive support and supervision was appealing to governments. For neo-liberals, intensive support and supervision offered a sentencing tactic that avoided the use of custody without appearing ‘soft on crime’. For neo-conservatives, this approach served as a ‘get tough’ strategy without adding to the overall cost of youth justice (Byrne, 1990). According to Clear and Hardyman, intensive supervision programs were typically portrayed to the public as “tough, strict, and harsh” and offenders would be made to comply and be closely watched (1990: 46). Additionally, the use of intensive support and supervision as a graduated sanction allowed probation administrators to express a diminished tolerance of more serious crimes and non-compliance through a seemingly more onerous level of supervision than regular probation provided; a philosophy that was generally accepted and shared with the general public and political leaders (Tonry, 1990).

2.2.2 Deterrence and Denunciation

The concept of diminished tolerance was consistent with the need of government to preserve the confidence of its constituents. The notion of intermediacy in sentencing suggested that sanctions could range in severity from least to most intrusive (Marinos, 1998). Therefore, although not explicitly defined in the YCJA as a principle of sentencing, an intermediate sanction, like intensive support and supervision, could imply a court's denunciation of the offence. By imposing a more severe sanction than regular probation, the youth court judge could send a *general* message to the public that serious offenders would be closely watched. This sanction would also indicate to the offender *specifically* that further offences could result in more serious sanctions, such as custody.

However, contrary to this thinking, Marinos (1998) argued that intermediate sanctions did not possess much denunciatory power, and must be combined with incarceration in order to achieve this goal. This tactic obviously would contradict the basic principle of using intermediate sanctions, such as ISSP, as an alternative to custody. Such a strategy, however, would be consistent with the "back-end" approach that uses ISSP as an aftercare program following custody.

In a similar vein, intermediate punishments could also be politically promoted as a deterrent; specifically discouraging recidivism in sentenced offenders and generally deterring potential criminals from engaging in crime (MacKenzie, 2006). Arguably, the knowledge and existence of graduated sentencing could deter present offenders from engaging in further criminal activity in an effort to avoid increasingly severe sanctions. Likewise, knowing intrusive measures, such as house arrest, electronic monitoring, and intensive supervision, are possible, prospective offenders could be deterred from initiating a criminal offence. However, critical to

the success of these measures, or any sentence, in deterring would-be offenders from engaging in criminal behavior is the potential offender's belief in the certainty, severity, and celerity of the sanction (see Brown and Esbensen, 1988; Corrado, Grons Dahl, MacAlister, & Cohen, 2006; Matthews and Agnew, 2008; Schneider and Ervin, 1990; Stafford and Warr, 1993). Ultimately, if the offender does not believe he/she will be caught, or that the punishment will be handed down swiftly and severely, there is no deterrent value to the sanction.

2.2.3 Fiscal Responsibility

Another challenge governments must contend with is administering justice in the most cost effective way possible. When governments consider the cost benefit or effectiveness of a sentencing initiative, the intervention is typically evaluated by whether the benefits of the program exceed the costs of providing the service, or whether the costs of the intervention is less than any available and appropriate alternatives (Robertson, Grimes, & Rogers, 2001). This is particularly relevant when comparing the costs of incarcerating youth versus supervising them in the community. In British Columbia, it costs approximately \$215,000 per year for each youth in custody compared to \$20,000 per year for each youth on community supervision (Joint Special Report, 2009: 5). It would be reasonable to expect that community supervision costs would be greater for youth on ISSP than regular probation due to the involvement of specialized support workers. However, the overall expenditures for ISSP still would not surpass the cost of incarceration.

The overuse of custody can also have social costs. An increasing body of research has suggested that effective treatment and rehabilitation is best achieved in the context of a youth's community (Bala, 2003; Hoge, 2001; Howell, 2003). Furthermore, less serious offenders

sentenced to custody can be exposed to the anti-social attitudes of higher risk youth within the custody centre. The potential for these youth to become lifelong persistent criminals would have significant long-term fiscal repercussions on the justice system. Cohen (1998) estimated that if one high-risk youth was saved from a life of crime, society would save, on average, between \$1.7 and \$2.3 million US dollars.

Another consideration for the need of government to reduce its reliance on the use of youth custody is in relation to Canada's place in the global economy. According to Muncie (2006), the need to attract international investment compels governments to implement similar economic, social, and criminal justice policies. Pressure to attract American capital influences governments to consider policies that are more in-line with neo-conservative approaches, whereas European investors prefer more neo-liberal methods. The use of intensive support and supervision programs have the ability to appeal to both sides of the political spectrum and are consistent with international youth justice philosophies.

Many of the youth justice reforms in Canada reflect principles shared by other countries (Muncie, 2005; Roberts, 2005) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Fetherston, 2005; Minkes, 2007; Muncie and Hughes, 2002). The Convention has been accepted as an 'interpretive lens' for Canadian law and has been referenced in youth justice decisions made in Canada's highest court, particularly with regards to a youth's 'reduced capacity for moral judgment' (Joint Special Report, 2009). As Canada once had one of the highest youth incarceration rates in the industrialized world, a change was needed to bring Canadian youth sentencing practices more in-line with its global partners. This international consistency is also realized when the mandates, principles, and objectives of various youth justice systems are compared.

2.3 Correctional Agenda

2.3.1 Juvenile Justice System Mandates

When the objectives and mandates of juvenile justice systems around the world are examined, some common themes emerge. In the United States, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) operate under a mission statement that asserts:

“OJJDP supports states and communities in their efforts to develop and implement effective and coordinated prevention and intervention programs and to improve the juvenile justice system so that it protects public safety, holds offenders accountable, and provides treatment and rehabilitative services tailored to the needs of juveniles and their families” (ojjdp.ncjrs.org, 2009).

In England and Wales, youth justice is overseen by the Youth Justice Board which affirms:

“their commitment to work to prevent offending and re-offending by children and young people under the age of 18, and to ensure that custody for them is safe, secure, and addresses the causes of their offending behavior” (yjb.gov.uk, 2009).

The Department of Corrections in Western Australia adheres to the following mission statement in their work with all offenders:

The key focus for the Department of Corrective Services is to contribute to community safety by upholding the integrity of custodial and non-custodial sentences and by positively influencing offender behavior to reduce re-offending (correctiveservices.wa.gov.au, 2009).

Canada shares a similar focus on public safety, prevention, and rehabilitation in its approach to youth justice. Section 3 of the Youth Criminal Justice Act (2003) provides a “Declaration of Principle” which establishes:

3. (1) The following principles apply in this Act:
 - (a) the youth criminal justice system is intended to:
 - (i) prevent crime by addressing the circumstances underlying a young person’s offending behavior;
 - (ii) rehabilitate young persons who commit offences and reintegrate them into society; and

(iii) ensure that a young person is subject to meaningful consequences for his or her offence,
in order to promote the long-term protection of the public.

Through the lens of this guiding principle, the provinces also declared their approach to the administration of youth justice. In British Columbia, youth justice services operate under the mission statement:

Youth Justice Services contribute to public safety by promoting the development of law-abiding behavior primarily through an integrated, multi-disciplinary approach for youth who are in conflict with the law (mcf.gov.bc.ca, 2009).

Public safety, crime prevention, and rehabilitation have become the current hegemony in correctional practice for both adults and youth. Critical to accomplishing these important goals is the ability to accurately assess an offender's potential for offending and their treatment needs.

2.3.2 Risk Management and Risk Reduction

According to Hannah-Moffat (2005), risk assessments were historically the responsibility of clinical experts who used their subjective judgments to determine an offender's potential for recidivism. Offender populations were typically categorized as low, medium, or high risk. Feely and Simon (1992) argued that justice policies shifted from this clinical approach toward more strategic methods that relied on actuarial techniques of quantifying and assessing an offender's risk. However, to focus solely on historical factors in determining an offender's risk created a "fixed risk subject" that could not change (Hannah-Moffat, 2005: 32). This limitation exposed

the need to integrate knowledge of an offender's criminogenic needs² into the actuarial assessment tool.

Andrews, Bonta, and Hoge (1990) offered a more comprehensive method of risk assessment utilizing principles of risk, needs, and responsivity. They suggested that effective treatment programs needed to follow these principles and should target criminogenic risk factors (see Table 2.2), rather than non-criminogenic factors, such as self-esteem or anxiety.

Table 2.2 Examples of Criminogenic Risk Factors

Domain				
Youth	Family	Peers	School	Community
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Substance use • Aggression • Lying/Stealing • Anti-social attitude • Poor self-control • Withdrawn • Poor use of leisure time • Poor vocational skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor supervision • Parental substance abuse • Parental anti-social attitudes • Poor parent-child relations • Parental neglect • Poverty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-social attitudes • Delinquent and/or criminal beliefs • Substance use • Gang membership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor academic performance • Poor attendance • Frequent school changes • Low bond and commitment • Low academic aspirations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exposure to violence and crime • Availability of drugs and weapons • Disorganized neighbourhoods • Poverty

(adapted from Hoge, 2001; Howell, 2003)

The *risk* principle suggests that criminal behavior is predictable and that interventions and treatment services should match an offender's level of risk (e.g. high risk offenders should receive more intensive interventions). The *need* principle recognizes the importance of identifying an offender's dynamic criminogenic risk factors and targeting treatment services to specifically address these needs. The *responsivity* principle stresses the significance of matching

² Criminogenic needs are deficits in the youth and/or his circumstances that are causally related to the offending behaviour and have the potential to change, such as substance abuse, family relationships, peer associations, school involvement/performance, and leisure/recreational pursuits (Hoge, 2001).

the method of treatment interventions with the learning style and abilities of the offender (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990). According to Hoge (2002), cultural and ethnic group considerations in programming also serve as effective responsivity factors.

Contrary to the presence of criminogenic risk factors, protective factors are the strengths possessed by young people and their families. Similar to the notion of resilience, protective factors can actually counter the effects of risk factors, thereby protecting youth from the negative consequences these risks pose (Hoge, 2002). Some examples of protective factors in youth include a constructive use of leisure time, positive peer group associations, strong bonds to family and school, and high intelligence. Generally, for any variable that could be identified as a criminogenic risk factor, its opposite could be considered a protective factor.

The work of Andrews and his colleagues (1990) has been influential in the growing support for evidence-based decision making with respect to correctional programming. According to MacKenzie (2005), evidence-based refers to the need to use scientific evidence to make informed decisions about juvenile correctional policy. When applying MacKenzie's (2000) review of "what works" in correctional programming, youth justice interventions should, by design, be inclusive of high-risk youth, target dynamic criminogenic risk factors, build and strengthen protective factors, and be responsive to the unique characteristics and abilities of each young person involved.

Theoretically, juvenile intensive support and supervision programs should satisfy all of the criteria for effective rehabilitative programming established by Andrews and his colleagues. ISSP is designed to work with high risk young offenders, should be structured specifically to address the individual criminogenic needs of the young offender, and should be delivered in a manner that reflects the preferred learning style and ability of the young person.

In this chapter, the importance of understanding adolescence as a period of significant change, stress, and discovery was posited. Young people attempting to navigate successfully through this stage of life inherently possess the dual potential of being *a risk* to public safety and *at-risk* of harm and exploitation. Many psychological, sociological, and criminological theorists speculate on what influences these at-risk youth to become public risks and engage in delinquency. Whether it is weak social bonding, negative peer influences and modeling, or a lack of effective internal or external controls, intensive support and supervision programs seek to incorporate this theoretical rationale in program design, and target the risk factors associated with high-risk behavior and delinquency.

The compatibility between intensive support and supervision programming and globally held principles of offender accountability, rehabilitation, and public safety has kept the notion of juvenile intensive supervision programming in political favor. As such, many jurisdictions around the world have adopted policies to implement juvenile intensive supervision programs. However, despite having similar objectives, every country has developed unique service delivery models to achieve their own youth crime control goals.

Chapter 3: INTERNATIONAL MODELS AND EVALUATIONS

3.1 Global Standards

The emergence of juvenile intensive supervision programming was consistent with the establishment of the 1985 United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (“Beijing Rules”). Specifically, Rule 18.1 addressed the use of “various disposition measures” as an alternative to custody stating:

18.1 A large variety of disposition measures shall be made available to the competent authority, allowing for flexibility so as to avoid institutionalization to the greatest extent possible. Such measures, some of which may be combined, include:

- a) Care, guidance, and supervision orders;
- b) Probation;
- c) Community service orders;
- d) Financial penalties, compensation, and restitution;
- e) Intermediate treatment and other treatment orders;
- f) Orders to participate in group counselling and similar activities;
- g) Orders concerning foster care, living communities, or other educational settings;
- h) Other relevant orders.

These standards were later incorporated in the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Both treaties are considered extremely important in efforts to establish globally accepted standards of legal and civil rights for children (Bala et al., 2002; Winterdyk, 2002).

Since the establishment of these international statutes, and the American implementation of juvenile intensive supervision programs, other jurisdictions have adopted similar policies.

3.2 United States of America

3.2.1 Program Development

The earliest evidence of intensive community supervision for juveniles in the United States can be traced back to California in the 1960's. According to Armstrong (1991), the primary focus of these early attempts at intensive supervision was to determine if decreased caseload size resulted in more positive performances by juvenile parolees. Throughout the 1960's and early 1970's, the California Youth Authority sponsored a number of experimental projects examining the benefits of reduced caseloads, closer offender monitoring, and youth participation in various counseling services. Consistently, the evaluations of these initiatives concluded that there were no statistically significant differences in rates of recidivism between the experimental groups and the regular juvenile parole subjects (Armstrong, 1991). Armstrong suggested that these programs focused primarily on combining greater surveillance with treatment interventions, rather than managing specific risk factors. Armstrong added that high risk juveniles were more resistant to conventional intervention strategies than lower risk offenders. As a result, programs that focused on smaller caseloads and specialized treatment fell out of favor.

By the mid 1980's, renewed interest in intensive supervision for juvenile offenders emerged. Armstrong (1991) explained that several factors contributed to this revival, including concerns over the expanding juvenile prison population and the high costs associated with their incarceration, public demands for greater community protection, the need for a tougher, more accountable type of community based intervention, and the inability of current schemes to reduce recidivism in juvenile offenders. What emerged was a widespread national movement toward intensive supervision for high risk adolescent probationers and parolees.

In 1987, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) funded four intensive juvenile aftercare pilot projects in Colorado, Nevada, New Jersey, and Virginia (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1999). The goals of these intensive aftercare programs (IAP) were to reduce recidivism among high risk parolees and specifically address the issues common to delinquency, including the co-occurrence of social and personal strain, weak conventional controls, and strong bonds to anti-social or delinquent peer groups (Wiebush et al., 2005). These programs were implemented and followed over a five year period.³

Creators of the IAP model, Altschuler and Armstrong (1994) argued that their model addressed the deficiencies of the current system of juvenile secure confinement, namely that incarceration did not adequately prepare youth for their eventual return to the community, and the lessons and skills learned in custody were neither monitored nor reinforced in the community. Altschuler and Armstrong suggested that successful aftercare and transition from custody to the community required an adherence to five principles for programmatic action:

1. To prepare youth for progressively increased responsibility and freedom in the community;
2. To facilitate youth-community interaction and involvement;
3. To work with both the offender and targeted community support systems (e.g., families, peers, schools, employers) to establish constructive interaction and to help youth adjust successfully to the community;
4. To develop new resources and supports where needed; and
5. To monitor and test the youth and the community on their ability to deal with each other productively (1994: 4).

The IAP model was designed to work with juveniles that posed the highest risk to re-offend when released back to the community. According to Altschuler and Armstrong (1994), the process of assisting these high risk youth offenders in making the transition from secure confinement to intensive aftercare was called “overarching case management” (see Table 3.1).

³ After three years, the New Jersey program was dropped from the study because it was discontinued due to “implementation difficulties” (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1999: 9).

To ensure appropriate youth were identified to participate in the program, an objective risk assessment tool was used to determine the young person's level of risk.

Once a youth was selected for the program, Altschuler and Armstrong (1994) emphasized that individualized case planning must begin between the institutional and aftercare staff to ensure that the youth's special needs are addressed in custody and in the community, and that any gains made in custody were supported in the community. Altschuler and Armstrong added that it was unrealistic to expect a single program or youth worker to provide all the services necessary to support youth and his/her family in the community. Given this, links to a network of service providers and community support systems were required.

Table 3.1 Components of Overarching Case Management

- Assessment, classification, and selection criteria;
 - Individual case planning incorporating a family and community perspective;
 - A mix of intensive surveillance and services;
 - Service brokerage with community resources and linkage with social networks; and
 - A balance of incentives and graduated consequences coupled with the imposition of realistic, enforceable conditions.
-

(Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994: 12)

Altschuler and Armstrong (1994) asserted that IAP participants should receive a comprehensive system of services that extended into the evenings and weekends, and included the involvement of family members and positive peers. Balanced with this approach, Altschuler and Armstrong added that increased surveillance should not be used as merely a means of catching misconduct, but also as a method of early intervention to prevent crisis, as well as an opportunity to recognize the youth's accomplishments. As youth achieve specific goals, there should be a system in place to provide rewards and privileges. Likewise, Altschuler and

Armstrong suggested that when these high risk youth falter (i.e. technical violations), there should be a system of graduated sanctions established rather than immediately defaulting to incarceration.

Richard Wiebush and his colleagues (2005) conducted the final evaluation of the three remaining IAP pilot projects. Over the five year period, over 500 juvenile offenders participated in one of the IAP schemes. Each youth was tracked for a 12 month period to measure various recidivism outcomes. The results showed that a large percentage of the youth in both the IAP and control groups were arrested during the follow-up period. Consistent with the high-risk profile of the subjects, approximately half were charged with a new felony offence, and nearly 80% were arrested for some other type of offence, including technical violations. Overall, Wiebush et al. (2005) found no statistically significant difference between the IAP participants and the control group on nearly all recidivism measures (except technical violations). Understandably, IAP youth were more likely than youth in the control group to be charged with technical violations because of the greater scrutiny and supervision provided by the IAP supervisors.

Shortly after the OJJDP sponsored the IAP pilot project, Armstrong (1988) conducted a survey of 234 American jurisdictions and found that, of the 157 juvenile justice agencies that responded, 61 agencies representing 29 states reported the use of intensive probation supervision programming. Armstrong (1988) recognized that there was little consistency in what was considered “intensive”, and the programs generally varied in terms of their goals, procedures, and targeted populations. One aspect that was consistent among these programs was the increased frequency of face-to-face contact between the probationer and the supervisor (Armstrong, 1991).

In another OJJDP funded project, Krisberg et al. (1994) developed a planning guide for juvenile justice agencies to implement a post-adjudicated non-residential intensive supervision program. The rationale for the program was to provide an appropriate alternative to long-term institutional confinement for serious high-risk juvenile offenders. Building on the evidence that intensive supervision yielded no worse outcomes than incarceration, in terms of re-offending, Krisberg's model aimed to provide a less expensive alternative that was substantially different than previous community interventions.

Krisberg et al.'s (1994) juvenile intensive supervision model also served as a tool to bring more consistency across the country in implementing intensive probation supervision. Eight core intervention strategies were recommended:

1. Operate a phase system characterized by an initially high level of external program control to be progressively decreased as the offender displays a greater level of responsibility and internal controls;
2. Deliver or access a range of services guided by a continuously monitored individualized case plan;
3. Develop a constellation of relationships among the youth and law-abiding persons, groups, and institutions that can provide alternative role models, a source of rewards and sanctions external to the program, a network of community support, and a vehicle for disengagement from delinquent peer groups;
4. Teach youth the social and interpersonal skills necessary to maintain positive involvement with family, school, work, pro-social peers, and community institutions;
5. Develop youth competence in life skills, education, and employment;
6. Arrange and advocate for access to opportunities in education and employment that provide meaningful rewards in the short term and long term;
7. Address individualized risk factors that impede functioning or that have weakened the youth's pro-social attachments;
8. Consistently apply graduated rewards and sanctions that recognize youth achievement, and provide immediate accountability for violations (1994: 23).

Further to these suggested intervention strategies, Krisberg et al. (1994) provided a five phase model intended to gradually and fully reintegrate the high risk juvenile offender into the community. They proposed that intensive supervision participants should initially be placed in a

residential or institutional placement (phase 1). Krisberg and his colleagues argued that this phase should last 15 to 45 days and be utilized as an opportunity to stabilize the youth's behaviour, orientate them to the program rules and expectations, assess their risks and needs for services, and develop a comprehensive service plan.

Krisberg et al. (1994) suggested that the second phase (day treatment) should last approximately 4 to 6 months. This phase involved the juvenile offender attending a day treatment centre to participate in programming designed to enhance their interpersonal skills, educational achievement, pro-social community networks, and self-responsibility. The third phase relied heavily on the intensive monitoring of a tracker who met regularly in the community with the youth, family members, employers, teachers, and counselors who were involved in the youth's life. In this phase, which lasted up to 4 months, the tracker carried the additional responsibility of providing outreach support services and served as a mentor and role model to the youth.

The fourth phase of Krisberg's model involves preparing the youth for their eventual discharge from correctional supervision and establishes any necessary follow-up services. This phase is designed to closely resemble regular probation supervision with fewer face-to-face contacts and external controls. The intensive supervision participant begins the fifth phase and is fully discharged from the program once they have completed the supervision component and have a community based support system in place. Krisberg et al. (1994) added that the involvement of a volunteer mentor beyond the discharge date was also beneficial.

Although the Krisberg guide is approximately 15 years old, it does not offer any examples or evaluations of juvenile intensive supervision programs utilizing their model. It is also interesting that the authors suggest incarcerating or removing newly adjudicated youth from

their homes during phase one of the program considering the program is promoted as an “alternative to custody” which offers the additional benefit of keeping youth “in an environment in which they must learn to live, rather than being removed to an artificially controlled setting” (Krisberg et al., 1994: 3). However, the authors’ recognition of the tracker’s role in supporting and mentoring these high risk youth is encouraging. Still, the model limits the tracker’s involvement to only four months. According to Grossman and Rhodes (2002), this limited involvement would likely be counter-productive. In their study, Grossman and Rhodes found adolescents who were involved in mentoring relationships for longer than one year experienced a greater number of improvements in academic, psychosocial, and behavioral outcomes than youth in these same relationships for less than one year. Furthermore, youth whose mentoring relationships terminated within six months reported significant increases in alcohol use.

3.2.2 Research and Evaluations

Since the resurgence in popularity of intensive probation and parole supervision for juvenile offenders, a number of studies and evaluations of American programs have taken place. Overall, the studies have shown that intensive supervision initiatives were as effective as traditional incarceration in reducing recidivism and were far more cost effective (Wiebush et al., 2005).

A study by Barton and Butts (1990) examined the effectiveness of intensive supervision as an alternative to secure custody for 500 youth in the Detroit area. They found no statistically significant difference between the two interventions in reducing recidivism. The researchers acknowledged that intensive supervision cost about one-third less than incarceration. Therefore, Barton and Butts (1990) concluded the “no difference” finding could actually be interpreted as important considering the cost savings of intensive supervision. Furthermore, the authors

suggested that with greater attention to case-screening procedures and flexible program development, the savings could be even greater.

Wiebush's (1993) studied the effectiveness of an intensive supervision program for juvenile felony offenders in Lucas County, Ohio. He concluded that there were no significant differences found in recidivism rates (except for technical violations) between the program subjects and the comparison group of juveniles who had been incarcerated and subsequently released on regular parole supervision.

The evaluation of the Philadelphia Intensive Probation Aftercare Program compared the performances of 44 subjects who received the specialized program to 46 control cases who received standard aftercare supervision. The study found that the intensive aftercare group exhibited a substantially lower average number of re-arrests than the control group, as well as a substantially lower number of felony arrests (Sontheimer and Goodstein, 1993). There was no difference in the overall percentage of re-arrests for both groups.

In 1993, Greenwood, Deschenes, and Adams (1993) published their two year evaluation of the Skillman Intensive Aftercare Project. They studied two IAP's in Detroit and Pittsburgh and compared the approximately 100 juveniles who participated in each program. The youth in each city were randomly assigned to either intensive aftercare or regular supervision. The study found no significant differences in the likelihood of arrest, conviction, or seriousness of the charges between the experimental and control groups at either location. The study also revealed no differences between the groups at either site with respect to substance use.

Beatty (2002) reported that in 2000, 83 out of 164 juvenile probation departments in the state of Texas operated intensive supervision programs (ISP). These programs were delivered in counties that had youth populations ranging from 1,001 to 333,463 juveniles. Beatty conducted a

survey study on 62 of the 83 programs. He found that a vast majority of the programs relied on offender controls, such as increased office visits (95 per cent), more frequent home visits (88 per cent), and imposing strict curfews (97 per cent). In terms of treatment services, the results indicated that cognitive skills training was the highest required element (25 per cent), followed by substance abuse counseling (23 per cent). Only four of the responders (7 per cent) indicated that community mentoring was a compulsory component of their program. The lower percentages of required community based services may be indicative of the common practice to individualize case management plans for youth. However, the substantial differences between the use of control measures and treatment interventions suggested that the Texas model of intensive supervision did not employ a balanced approach, but rather was more skewed toward enforcement.

In summary, the body of research examining the effectiveness of juvenile ISP's in reducing recidivism and lowering the operational costs of youth corrections in the USA was mixed. Neither incarceration nor ISP's demonstrated a clear advantage in reducing re-offending in juveniles. However, the costs of ISPs have been reported to be approximately one-third less than custodial measures (see Barton and Butts, 1990). Still, the costs of ISP's were substantially greater than standard parole or probation supervision due to increased surveillance and the processing of technical violations. What appears certain from the USA research is that enforcement alone is not effective and successful programs must include rehabilitation and treatment services to address the needs of individual young offenders (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994; MacKenzie, 1999).

3.3 England and Wales

3.3.1 Program Development

Following the American lead, the Youth Justice Board in England and Wales launched the Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Program (ISSP) in 2001. The program initially was directed toward persistent and serious young offenders, but later expanded to include youth who were at risk of being incarcerated because of the severity of their offences and/or repeated non-compliance with bail conditions (Merrington, 2006; Moore et al., 2004). Youth between the ages of 10-17 years old serving community sentences, such as a Supervision Order (SO) or Community Rehabilitation Order (CRO), were on bail supervision and support, or serving the community portion of a Detention and Training Order (DTO) could be placed in the program (Gray et al., 2005; Moore, 2005). At the time of implementation, ISSP was not a stand-alone sentence handed down by the Youth Court, but rather a condition of pre-existing orders.

The aims of ISSP in England and Wales were quite similar to its intensive supervision program predecessors in North America. In addition to lowering the rate and seriousness of participant recidivism, ISSP sought to reduce an over-reliance on the use of custody and provide a meaningful sentencing option for the youth courts that bridged the gap between community sanctions and custody (Gray et al., 2005). The Youth Justice Board declared three key objectives when it established ISSP in 2001:

1. To reduce the rate of reoffending in the target group of offenders by 5%, and to reduce the seriousness of reoffending;
2. To tackle underlying problems of the young people concerned, in an effective manner, and with a particular emphasis on educational needs; and
3. To demonstrate that supervision and surveillance were being undertaken consistently and rigorously, and in ways that will reassure the community and sentencers of their credibility and likely success (Moore et al., 2004: 4).

Moore stated that ISSP was “multi-modal, highly intensive, and combines supervision with surveillance in an attempt to ensure programme completion and to bring structure to the young people’s lives” (2005: 17). ISSP in England and Wales was fashioned after the body of available international and domestic research literature, as well as various program models that supported the use of increased surveillance, greater family involvement in decision making, positive role modeling and mentoring, and restorative justice practices (Little, Kogan, Bullock, & Van der Laan, 2004). Little et al. (2004) added that this multi-systemic intervention provided opportunities for greater supervision of participants, access to positive role models and mentors, better diagnosis and assessment of treatment plans, improved information sharing between Young Offender Team (YOT) members, and regular multi-agency case reviews.

Moore et al. (2004) argued that key objectives of ISSP were to ensure that the young person was aware that their behavior was being checked and to provide reassurance to the community that the participant’s whereabouts was being monitored. The Youth Justice Board stipulated that this monitoring should occur twice daily in one or more of the following ways:

Tracking: ISSP staff monitor the whereabouts of the young people throughout the week, reinforcing their participation in ISSP by accompanying them to appointments, providing support and advice, and following up any non-attendances;

Electronic tagging: The tag is used to reinforce a curfew, usually at night when some young people are at heightened risk of reoffending;

Voice verification: The voice prints of the young people are checked over the telephone at times specified in a contract schedule in order to confirm that they are where they are supposed to be;

Intelligence-led policing: The police overtly monitor the movements of the young people at key times and exchange information with the ISSP staff (Gray et al., 2005: 24).

The Youth Justice Board further prescribed that ISSP services should provide, at a minimum, five core modules including: education and training; restorative justice; changing offender behavior; interpersonal skills; and family support (Moore et al., 2004). Additional ancillary modules should be considered based on the individual needs of the participant and may include: accommodation; work; mental health; drug and alcohol work; constructive leisure/recreation; counseling/mentoring; and dealing with other health problems. Moore et al. (2004) concluded that ISSP interventions should maximize local provisions, resources, cultural and ethnic provisions, or any other service that would specifically benefit the young person.

The original ISSP model in England and Wales offered a six month program, with the first three months being the most intensive. ISSP participants were required to engage in a minimum of five hours a day of structured programming during the week and access to weekend and evening support (Moore et al., 2004). After three months, supervision was reduced to one hour a day with continued weekend and evening support.

According to Moore (2005), the program was rolled out in four phases: 41 programs were launched from July 2001 and fully operational by February 2002 (phases 1 and 2); 10 new programs were introduced in September 2002 (phase 3); and nationwide implementation began in October 2003 (phase 4). By 2005, ISSP was recognized as the “most robust and innovative community-based programme available for persistent and serious young offenders” (Gray et al., 2005: 7).

3.3.2 Research and Evaluations

The Youth Justice Board embarked on an ambitious two-staged evaluation of the first 41 ISSP schemes implemented in England and Wales. The two evaluations, which were conducted by a group of criminologists at the University of Oxford, were published in 2004 and 2005. *The*

Initial Report (2004) investigated the implementation, process, and outcomes of the ISSP model and *The Final Report* (2005) extended the reconviction study from 12 to 24 months and examined the effect of ISSP on custody rates, the frequency and seriousness of reconvictions, cost-benefits, and other qualitative measures of program effectiveness (Gray et al., 2005).

The Initial Report (Moore et al., 2004) examined a total of 3,990 ISSP cases of which nearly two-thirds (62 per cent) were in the program as a condition of a Supervision Order or Community Rehabilitation Order. These cases were compared to a similar group of cases (n = 1,240) that were eligible for ISSP services, but did not participate in the program. The vast majority of youth in the ISSP evaluation were males (93 per cent) and averaged 16.4 years of age. According to Moore et al. (2004), many of the young people referred to ISSP had unmistakably been deprived and damaged by their early life experiences and were firmly engaged in a career of criminal behavior by the time they began ISSP.

In terms of the implementation of supervision services, the findings of the Initial Report indicated that nearly all participants (97 per cent) were engaged in some form of education or training, with behavior work (95 per cent) being the next most common intervention. In fact, all of the five core elements of ISSP were being utilized in the majority of cases with restorative justice interventions (70 per cent) being implemented the least. The most utilized ancillary module involved constructive leisure activity (70 per cent), and the least implemented intervention was mental health (8 per cent).

As a surveillance tool, electronic tagging (70 per cent) was the most popular with tracking (66 per cent) being the next choice (Moore et al., 2004). Both measures were implemented together in 42% of the cases. According to Moore et al. (2004), this practice of

combining tagging and tracking was consistent with the Youth Justice Board's recommendation to utilize the most fitting blend of electronic and human monitoring.

Moore et al. (2004) suggested in their Initial Report that nearly half of the ISSP participants (47 per cent) completed the program successfully in that these youth attended the program until their scheduled end date. Non-compliance among the program participants was common with 70% receiving formal warnings and nearly 60% incurring a breach. However, being breached did not preclude a youth's opportunity to complete the program as slightly more than one-third (35 per cent) of program graduates were breached at some stage.

In the Gray et al. (2005) follow-up study, it was acknowledged that, even though there was a 2.1% reduction in the use of custody during the implementation of ISSP, this downward trend was consistent in both ISSP and non-ISSP areas of England and Wales. The reduction was considered more likely a consequence of changes in national policy and measures introduced by the Youth Justice Board.

One of the principle objectives of ISSP was to reduce the frequency and seriousness of reoffending by 5%. Gray et al.'s (2005) findings suggested that the target rate was greatly exceeded. The frequency of offending in the ISSP sample decreased 40% after one year and by 39% over two years. The seriousness of offending also went down by 13% at both measurement times. However, Grey et al. (2005) acknowledged that the comparison group achieved comparable levels of improvement, and, in fact, the youth on DTO without ISSP committed significantly fewer offences than those on DTO with ISSP. Additionally, 91% of the ISSP participants committed at least one offence during the two year follow-up study. Ellis, Pamment, and Lewis argued that these reconviction rates could be considered "very poor, and at worse, a failure" (2009: 399). Grey et al. (2005) suggested that this should not be surprising considering

the sample group committed an average of 11.6 offences in the 24 months prior to their ISSP experience.

The Final Report by Grey and her colleagues identified two elements of ISSP that were more significant in contributing to the overall reduction of offending frequency; namely restorative justice and constructive leisure activities. Alternatively, the use of the various surveillance methods, like tagging, human tracking, and voice recognition, were not associated with any significant reductions in reoffending frequency or seriousness. Grey et al. (2005) also claimed that their findings suggested that any noteworthy effects of ISSP faded over time noting that any significant effects measured at 12 months often disappeared by 24 months.

Little et al. (2004) conducted a study of an ISSP scheme in South-East England and compared 79 youth between the ages of 14-17 years from three different sample groups: ISSP participants (n = 24); a control group of cases on standard community supervision (n = 24); and a matched control group of youth in a separate area of the region who were eligible for ISSP, but received a standard intervention (n = 31). The researchers found that there was no significant difference between the three groups in the number of court appearances with a conviction during the two year follow-up. They did discover that ISSP participants were involved in a lower volume of criminal behavior than non-program youth. ISSP cases were also found to be between 30% and 50% less likely than the control groups to be arrested during the follow-up period, despite the greater level of supervision directed toward the ISSP participants. Little et al. (2004) concluded that expectations for behavior modification should be modest as persistent young offenders were extremely resistant to change.

Ellis, Pamment, and Lewis (2009) claimed that the research on ISSP was overwhelmingly negative, with high reconviction and breach rates. Furthermore, the strict conditions and breach

procedures actually served to compound youth custody populations and justice system expenditures, thereby contradicting the Youth Justice Board's own objectives. Ellis, Pamment, and Lewis (2009) concluded that ISSP failed to reduce offending, protect the public, improve offenders' attitudes or life chances, provide separation from damaging environments or negative peers, and adequately address the offender's individual needs.

The evaluation of the England/Wales model of ISSP provides some valuable insights into the effectiveness of the intervention. However, it is unclear in the recidivism findings if there were greater incidents of non-compliance and criminal activity during the more intensive periods of the program or when the levels of supervision relaxed after three months. It is helpful to view recidivism rates, not merely by absolute "yes" or "no" qualifiers, but in more relevant terms of "frequency" and "severity". Examining recidivism rates in the latter contexts allows researchers to more accurately reflect the effectiveness of an intervention, potentially highlighting an improvement in re-offending that otherwise would have been lost if success was simply measured in terms of "yes" or "no" recidivism. Furthermore, it is interesting to see that the program's supervision measures were found to be less influential in creating change than the more support-based measures like restorative justice and constructive leisure activities. This suggests perhaps that more effective ISSP does not require *tougher* supervision, but *smarter* supervision.

3.4 Western Australia

3.4.1 Program Development

In 2005, the Government of Western Australia released its Regional Youth Justice Strategy. Within that strategy was a commitment to spend \$24 million on two new juvenile

remand centres in an effort to improve the State's youth justice system (Department of Corrective Services, 2008). However, the incarceration rate in Western Australia was already twice the national average.⁴ Following consultations with various community reference groups in 2006, the strategy shifted, redirecting the resources into community projects and programs believed to more adequately address youth offending and offer more long-term benefits.

At the time of this campaign (2005), three intensive supervision programs (ISP) were established and operating in the Metropolitan Perth area. These programs were the first of its kind in Australia (Department of Corrective Services, 2009a). In 2007, the Government of Western Australia built on the preliminary success of those programs and established the first regional ISP in Kalgoorlie-Boulder (DCS, 2009a).⁵ The following year, a second regional ISP was established in Geraldton.⁶

The Western Australian model of ISP is targeted toward young offenders between the ages of 10-17 years old who commit serious and/or persistent offences. The program is based on the Multisystemic Therapy (MST) model which focuses on changing the factors related to anti-social, offending behavior across individual, family, peer, school/vocational, and community systems (DCS, 2009b). According to the Western Australia Department of Corrective Services (2009b) program description, ISP aims to achieve the following:

- Reduce rates and/or seriousness of juvenile offending and anti-social behaviour;
- Develop positive parenting practices;
- Reduce substance misuse by the youth and/or their caregivers;
- Increase parental/carer monitoring skills;
- Decrease young person's association with anti-social peers;
- Increase young person's association with pro-social peers;
- Improve young person's school or vocational attendance and performance;

⁴ In 2004/05, Western Australia's youth detention rate was 3.8 per 1,000 compared to the national average of 1.9 per 1,000 (DCS, 2009c).

⁵ Kalgoorlie-Boulder is 600 km east of Perth.

⁶ Geraldton is 425 km north of Perth.

- Enhance family relationships; and
- Develop a support network of extended family, neighbours and friends to help caregivers achieve and maintain changes.

The developers of the Western Australian ISP deliberately developed the strategy to follow the principles of MST. They asserted that 30 years of research supported MST as an effective intervention to reduce juvenile recidivism, substance use, and behavioral problems, while increasing their school attendance and improving family relations (DCS, 2009b).

ISP is delivered by ISP teams in the communities, neighborhoods, and homes of referred youth. ISP teams consist of specialized staff, including three psychology or social work trained clinicians, an Aboriginal team advisor, and a Masters trained supervisor (DCS, 2009b).

Clinicians carry caseloads of up to six young persons, their families, and associated collaterals. These clinicians are rostered to be available to the families 24 hours a day, 7 days a week (DCS, 2009a). Typically, the ISP team works intensively with youth and their families 2-3 times a week for up to six months.

3.4.2 Research and Evaluations

In November 2006, the Government of Western Australia conducted an interim evaluation of the three ISP teams operating in Perth. The evaluators tracked the youth who participated in the program and assessed their behavior every six months for two years. At the time of the evaluation, 116 families were in contact with ISP and 43 cases had been out of the program longer than six months (DCS, 2009c). The results of the evaluation produced four significant findings:

- a 33% reduction in the total number of days ISP youth spent in custody;
- a 31% reduction in the number of times ISP youth were in custody;
- a 73% reduction in the number of convicted offences; and
- a significant reduction in the severity of the convicted offences (DCS, 2009c).

These preliminary findings inspired the development of two similar ISP's in New South Wales. Other Australian states have also taken notice of the positive outcomes and are investigating the possibility of implementing ISP teams (DCS, 2009a).

ISP in Australia is still in its infancy having only been formally introduced as an intervention option in 2005. Therefore, it is understandable that there is very little published on the application and effectiveness of this program. An objective third party evaluation of the Western Australian ISP is still needed. The findings of this interim evaluation are presented on the government website (see DCS, 2009c) and appear more like political rhetoric and promotional fodder for the new regional youth justice strategy than a transparent public report or well designed research study. In addition to the concerns associated with an evaluation with a small sample size, there is no data provided to establish the prior offending patterns or severity of the ISP participants. Furthermore, the failure to include or mention a control group eliminates the ability to determine if the results were reflective of the program intervention or if similar reductions in offending would also have occurred with juveniles who did not receive ISP.

However, some promising features of this model are the use of Multisystemic Therapy and the utilization of Aboriginal team advisors to address cultural issues. There is a substantial body of research supporting the use of MST as an intervention for young offenders and their families (see Henggenner, Melton, & Smith, 1992; Curtis, Ronan, & Borduin, 2004; Schaeffer and Borduin, 2005), and considering the disproportionate number of Aboriginal youth in the justice system, it is critical to employ culturally sensitive approaches that address the unique issues within Aboriginal communities (DeGusti et al., 2009).

3.5 Canada

3.5.1 Program Development

The emergence of juvenile intensive support and supervision programs in Canada can be attributed to a number of political, economic, and legal influences. After 76 years under the welfare regime of the Juvenile Delinquents Act (1908), Canada entered into a new era of juvenile justice with the enactment of the Young Offenders Act (1984). With this change came a new justice model philosophy which placed greater emphasis on the legal rights of the child (Corrado, 1983). However, the increased intolerance of youth crime by the public and sensationalized media depictions of youth violence caused governments to become more conservative and less willing to invest in social programs (Bala and Bromwich, 2002). As a result, ‘tough on crime’ rhetoric and populist politics led to a more punitive youth justice system (Bala, 2003). By 1997, Canada had one of the highest youth incarceration rates in the world; exceeding the United States and many European countries (Minkes, 2007; Bala, 2003).

Under the Young Offenders Act (YOA), the opportunity to impose intermediate sanctions was limited. No specific disposition was available that fell clearly between probation and incarceration on the continuum of sentence severity. However, youth court judges could combine a sentence of regular probation with additional sanctions, such as fines and community service, to produce an intermediary effect (Marinos, 1998). Intermediate-like sanctions could also be achieved through increasingly strict conditions on a regular probation order. For example, through conditions of probation, youth probation officers could refer high risk youth to a full-time attendance or treatment program as an alternative to custodial placement (Bala, 2003). In British Columbia, the duration of full-time attendance programs ranged from 30 days to 12

months and included youth group homes, wilderness programs, substance abuse treatment programs, Aboriginal programs, and sex offender treatment programs (MCFD Fact Sheet, 2007).

Public confidence in the youth justice system was extremely low and young offenders continued to attract the attention of policy makers (Roberts, 2003). Doob, Marinos, and Varma (2000) suggested that the leading cause of dissatisfaction with the youth justice system was the perception of excessive leniency on the part of youth courts. This sentiment was echoed in a 1993 Stats Canada poll which found that 77% of respondents believed youth sentences were too lenient (Doob and Sprott, 1997). According to Roberts (2003), the public also believed a lenient youth justice system was a substantial contributor to youth crime. In 2003, the Canadian government responded to constituent concerns by enacting the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA).

A Trojan horse of sorts, Doob and Sprott (2006) suggested that through the implementation of the YCJA, the government was able to promise a punitive approach to youth crime to placate public distress, while simultaneously addressing their own operational concerns regarding the high cost of youth incarceration. The YCJA formally introduced the Intensive Support and Supervision Program (ISSP) as a sentencing option for youth court judges. Similar to ISPs in the United States and England/Wales, the Canadian ISSP was intended to be a hybrid of welfare and crime control strategies. This option allowed higher risk offenders to remain in their home communities to attend school, work, life skills programs, and/or any other rehabilitative treatment service (Krisberg et al., 1994), while providing a higher level of supervision than what was typically afforded to regular probationers (Bala, 2003).

With the proclamation of the YCJA (2003), the manner in which youth were released from secure custody also changed. Previously, under the YOA, youth would remain in custody

until their final warrant expiry date. This often created problems with aftercare planning as youth justice funded transition and support services could not be implemented in situations where young persons were not released on a consecutive term of probation (Bell, 2003). Under the YCJA, youth were to be released after serving two-thirds of their custodial sentence and placed in the community for the final third on a Supervision in the Community Order (YCJA, 2003). This change in procedure provided an opportunity for youth justice personnel to maintain supervisory involvement with youth following their release from custody and implement services where needed to assist with an often difficult transition back into the community.

The Canadian government, however, has not promoted the use of ISSP to the same degree as the United States and England/Wales. Both the American and English national organizations for juvenile justice used academics to draft a working model and framework to implement their respective ISPs. Alternatively, Canada elected to provide its provinces and territories with the discretion to “opt-in” and deliver ISSP in their jurisdictions if they chose (Kong, 2009). The only federal directive given on the application of ISSP in Canada was that the intervention “shall not exceed two years” in length (YCJA, 2003). Beyond this limitation, the provinces and territories were granted the ability to develop and implement the program in the manner that suited their needs. Consequently, there is no consistent model of ISSP applied across Canada.

3.5.2 Ontario

In Ontario, ISSP was introduced in 2005 as a pilot program aimed at providing “clinical and community supports, supervision, and crisis management for young persons with diagnosed mental illness or disorder who might likely be sentenced to custody” (MCYS, 2005: 3). Although Ontario’s Youth Justice Services Branch recognized the authority under the YCJA for the youth

justice courts to sentence a young person to an ISSP order, the policy of Ontario's Ministry of Children and Youth Services (2005) was for young offenders to access the program, during the pilot phase, through a condition of regular probation. By 2006/07, the Ontario youth justice courts loosened this policy and issued 16 ISSP Orders that fiscal year (Thomas, 2008).

The Ontario ISSP initiative possesses similar themes as the American, English/Welsh, and Australian models. These objectives include, holding young persons accountable for their offending behavior, supporting success and change in a community setting, reducing the risk of recidivism through targeted rehabilitation and reintegration strategies, and reducing the use of custodial dispositions in cases where youth can be managed in the community without compromising public safety.

ISSP in Ontario was developed primarily to address the concern that youth suffering from serious mental illness were extremely vulnerable in secure custody settings, as well as to adhere to the YCJA principle that custodial dispositions should not be administered as a substitute for appropriate mental health or other social measure (Durham, 2010; Kinark, 2009). Therefore, youth diagnosed or suspected of having serious mental illness required an alternative to secure placement that was fundamentally different than other community programs in terms of the level, type, and intensity of the service (Kinark, 2009).

The Ontario brand of ISSP intended to fulfill that mandate by requiring eligibility for the program to be restricted to youth offenders who had been diagnosed with one or more of the following mental health disorders:

- Schizophrenia spectrum disorders;
- Mood disorders (Major Depressive Disorder, Bipolar Disorder which may include chronic suicidal or self harming behaviour);
- Severe anxiety disorders (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, Severe Social Anxiety Disorder, Obsessive/Compulsive Disorders);

- Pervasive developmental disorders (Asperger's Disorder);
- Global intelligence delay (mild mental retardation, borderline IQ) ; and
- Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (MCYS, 2005: 6).

Noticeably absent from the list were disorders, such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Conduct Disorder, Oppositional Defiant Disorder, and Substance Abuse Disorder.

Despite the high prevalence of diagnosis for ADHD, Conduct Disorder, and Substance Abuse Disorder, compared to other mental health disorders in Canadian youth (Waddell and Sheppard, 2002), these more common mental health conditions did not qualify a young person for Ontario ISSP services unless it co-occurred with one of the recognized disorders.

According to Diane Irwin, Director of Residential Services for the St. Lawrence Youth Association, youth who do not possess a diagnosis for one of the ISSP required mental health disorders are typically serviced through a Community Support Team program (personal communication, June 20, 2010). Community Support Teams programs provide youth and families with a community based support worker to assist with their specific needs and address issues such as relapse prevention, substance abuse, education, problem solving, peer relations, family treatment, and advocacy (Eastern Ontario Youth Justice Agency, 2009).

Lou Ann Micallef, Program Supervisor for Ontario's MCYS Youth Justice Services Division, suggested that Community Support Team programs are not available throughout the province of Ontario (personal communication, July 5, 2010). According to Micallef, the exclusion of certain mental health diagnosis in the criteria for ISSP was a deliberate tactic to ensure the Ministry did not create an opportunity for net-widening beyond the program's intended service capacity.

Once the aforementioned mental health criteria are established, young offenders can be referred to ISSP by a Youth Probation Officer who is designated the primary case manager

(MCYS, 2005). ISSP providers are expected to provide individualized programming and community support aimed at promoting pro-social attitudes and behavior changes, as well as the development of appropriate social skills. According to the Justice Committee of FASD Ontario (2007), the Ministry of Children and Youth Services (MCYS) contracted ISSP pilot programs in seven regions of Ontario.⁷ MCYS (2005) recommended that all ISSP contractors should provide the following program components:

- Counselling and psychotherapy;
- In home and residential supports to family;
- Residential, vocational, social and educational supports;
- Service coordination and advocacy;
- Life skill and independent living support;
- Social and recreational support including mentoring;
- Substance use programs;
- Family therapy; and
- Post discharge services and aftercare planning.

The programs in these seven regions of Ontario utilize a variety of strategies to provide service to youth and their families, including the use of multi-disciplinary teams, specialized ISSP workers/therapists, and Multisystemic Therapy (Durham, 2010; EOYJA, 2009; Kinark, 2009; SLYA, 2009; Youthdale, 2010). According to the Eastern Ontario Youth Justice Agency (2009), service success in the ISSP program is determined when the young person is diverted from the youth justice system to the mental health system.

Although the Ontario ISSP scheme is intended to provide an alternative to custody for youth with serious mental illness, there still are opportunities for incarcerated youth to gain access to ISSP services. According to Diane Irwin (personal communication, June 30, 2010) there are frequent situations in her region [Kingston] where incarcerated youth, who meet the

⁷ Regions include: Central (416 area code - Toronto); Central (905 area code - Markham); Western (Kitchener/Waterloo); Northern (North Bay/Sudbury); Eastern (Ottawa and area); Southeast (Kingston and area); and Oshawa/Peterborough.

ISSP criteria, work with an ISSP counselor in the custody facility. The purpose of this intervention is to provide a continuity of care and follow up support for when the youth returns to the community. Irwin added that this application of ISSP only occurs if the youth's involvement in the program is still considered appropriate. Lou Ann Micallef suggested that this is not common practice across all regions of Ontario (personal communication, July 5, 2010). According to her, youth leaving custody should be precluded from participating in ISSP because there are a number of other support services available to them such as MST, transition workers, and other mental health service providers. Micallef added that the exception would be when a youth incurs new charges shortly after leaving custody, and the necessary mental health issues have been flagged to the court (personal communication, July 5, 2010). To date, there have been no published evaluations of the effectiveness of any ISSP initiative in Ontario.

3.5.3 Nova Scotia

In 2008, the Province of Nova Scotia implemented a policy for intensive support and supervision. According to Nova Scotia Department of Justice (NSDJ) policy (2008: 1), all youth serving deferred custody and supervision sentences *must* be supervised in accordance with the intensive support and supervision standards. Furthermore, the NSDJ policy stated that high risk youth serving custodial sentences in the community or on reintegration leave *may* be supervised in accordance with the intensive support and supervision standards.

These standards provide that the staff responsible for supervising the ISSP youth adhere to a minimum of at least two in-person contacts with the young person per week, four voice verification checks per week, one parental contact per week, two collateral contacts per month, and two home visits per month (NSDJ, 2008). Regulations have also been established to ensure that the probation officer works supportively with the young person to create access and

opportunity for school reintegration, family reintegration, employment opportunities, therapeutic services and behavioral programs, and leisure and pro-social activities.

As opposed to many of the program models discussed earlier, Nova Scotia's style of ISSP does not allow for a purely "front-end" community-based intervention. The most similar option available is through a deferred custody and supervision order (DCSO). However, there are some inherent limitations under the YCJA (2003) to the use of DCSO, including that the maximum duration of any DCSO is six months and a DCSO cannot be considered by the Youth Justice Court for any offence designated a 'serious violent offence'.⁸ Therefore, according to the NSJD policy, if a youth is high risk, they are only eligible for intensive levels of supervision and support while under the jurisdiction of a custody-based community order. To date, there have been no published evaluations of the effectiveness of Nova Scotia's ISSP policy.

3.5.4 Alberta

ISSP was also undertaken in Alberta, but with more of a heightened surveillance approach. According to Sandy Prokopiw, Manager of the Alberta Young Offender Branch, the initiative typically operated in the larger centres of Calgary and Edmonton (personal communication, December 10, 2009). Prokopiw stated that Alberta recognized ISSP since its introduction under the YCJA in 2003. The intervention generally involved heightened probation supervision in the form of increased reporting, home visits, curfew checks, and program referrals.

Susan Buda, Intake Manager for Edmonton South Community Corrections, reported that the program focuses on high risk youth and provides more expedient processing of consequences

⁸ 'Serious violent offences' are defined in the YCJA s. 2(1) as offences "which a young person causes or attempts to cause serious bodily harm". Such designations are made by the judge at the time of sentencing.

(i.e. breaches and warrants) for noncompliance than regular probation (personal communication, June 24, 2009). She added that Edmonton youth probation officers responsible for ISSP typically carried capped caseloads of no more than 15 youth.

In Calgary, the Children and Youth Services Branch provides a specialized service for youth who have been sentenced to an Intensive Support and Supervision Order (ISSO). The program in Calgary, known as the ISSO Initiative, adheres to the provincial ISSP policy and guidelines established by Province of Alberta (CCYP, 2010). It is required that, in order for youth on an ISSO to have access to the program, they must have had a minimum of five previous findings of guilt at a category I or II level, five or more findings of guilt for failure to comply, a mental health diagnosis (or strong indicator of mental illness), minimal to no involvement with personal or professional support systems, and minimal involvement in productive daytime activities such as school, employment, or recreation (CCYP, 2010). Eligible youth can remain in the program for the duration of their ISSO.

According to ISSO Initiative Coordinator, Tim Sieben, the Youth and Family Support Worker serves as a community-based support person for up to ten youth on ISSO's and does not, in any way, assume the powers or supervisory responsibilities of the Youth Probation Officer (personal communication, March 18, 2010). Sieben suggested that the role of the Youth and Family Support Worker was to assist ISSO youth in overcoming barriers in the community, to help them and their families develop resiliency and protective factors, to communicate with all members of the youth's case management team, and specifically report on the youth's progress to the Youth Probation Officer. To date, there have been no outcome evaluations conducted on the use of ISSP in Alberta.

3.5.5 British Columbia

Following the implementation of the YCJA in 2003, British Columbia acknowledged ISSP as a viable “front-end” sentencing option for its young offenders and an appropriate tool for aftercare support following a youth’s release from custody (MCFD, 2003). The goal of the program was to provide a cost effective intermediate sanction that could enhance the safety of the community by monitoring compliance with court orders or conditions of release, while supporting and facilitating the young person’s participation in activities and programs that targeted his/her needs (MCFD, 2009; MCFD, 2003).

Provincial guidelines define which youth are eligible for ISSP in the following priority:

1. Youth serving the conditional supervision portion of a sentence for first or second degree murder, or for any other presumptive serious violent offence.⁹
2. Youth found guilty of an offence involving personal harm or attempting personal harm, assessed as high risk, and who have been released from custody after 2/3rd of a custody and supervision order, or released early to conditional supervision.
3. Youth sentenced by the court to an “intensive support and supervision order”.
4. Where program capacity allows,
 - a. Youth sentenced to a “deferred custody and supervision order”;
 - b. Youth sentenced to regular probation who are assessed high risk, or medium risk where the offence involved personal harm or was intended to cause personal harm, and would otherwise be recommended for placement in a residential resource or youth custody centre;
 - c. Youth released early from custody by way of a “reintegration leave” or court approved release to conditional supervision;
 - d. Youth serving the community portion of a regular custody and supervision order who are assessed high risk;
5. Where program capacity allows, youth under bail supervision or bound by a recognizance order where there are conditions and a risk level that warrant the involvement of an ISSP worker (MCFD, 2009: 103).

⁹ Presumptive offences are those which are defined in the YCJA to include 1st and 2nd degree murder, manslaughter, attempted murder, and aggravated sexual assault. If found guilty of one of these offences, the young person is presumed to receive an adult sentence unless the court rules otherwise.

These high risk youth are typically assigned to a youth support/ISSP worker on a one-to-one basis. In addition to their supervisory role, ISSP workers also provide their clients with mentoring and support to participate in a number of services, including recreational, cultural, educational, vocational, pro-social, and rehabilitative programs (MCFD, 2003).

The YCJA (2003) specified that the maximum length of any ISSP order cannot exceed two years. In British Columbia, the original practice policy directed youth probation officers to not recommend Youth Justice Court ISSP Orders in excess of six months (MCFD, 2003).

According to Youth Justice Consultant, Chris Zatylny, the rationale for this policy was to allow more widespread use of the program (personal communication, December 9, 2009). However, due to unexpected low average caseload sizes in British Columbia, and an overall capacity for ISSP programs to accept more referrals, the six month policy limitation was changed to permit use of the full sentence available under the YCJA (MCFD, 2009).

ISSP in British Columbia is typically delivered by contracted community agencies and direct service ISSP staff (MCFD Fact Sheet, 2007). ISSP programs have been contracted in several communities in every region of British Columbia.¹⁰ According to Youth Justice Consultant, Anne Kimmet, there are currently 47 ISSP programs operating throughout British Columbia at an annual cost of approximately \$4.6 million (personal communication, December 9, 2009). In addition to these contracted services, the three provincial youth custody centres located in Burnaby, Victoria, and Prince George also provide direct service ISSP staff to their respective communities. According to Kimmet, these centres employ a total of 17 ISSP support workers.

¹⁰ Youth justice regions of British Columbia include Interior, Fraser, North, Vancouver-Coastal, and Vancouver Island.

It is recommended that full-time ISSP workers have reduced caseloads, not exceeding 10 youth, and that they dedicate at least two hours per week with each of their ISSP clients (MCFD, 2003). Furthermore, MCFD (2009) policy suggests that ISSP workers should maintain, on a weekly basis, at least two in-person and two telephone contacts with the ISSP youth on their caseloads, one contact with the parent/caregiver, and one additional contact with any collateral contact or resource. Kimmett acknowledged that, although these guidelines are in place for the contracted ISSP programs to follow, there is no formal process to ensure the various contracted services are adhering to the program model (personal communication, December 9, 2009).

Mordell et al. (2008) recognized the difficulty in locating published evaluations of any ISSP initiative in Canada. In their “best practices review”, Mordell et al. (2008) identified a number of strengths of BC’s youth custody ISSP programs; specifically the program’s focus on high risk youth, assistance with the youth’s transition from custody, use of assessment tools, individualized case planning, links to community services, and a balance of support and supervision activities. Mordell and her associates asserted that an outcome evaluation would be helpful in determining if any changes needed to be made to the program. Kimmett stated that some contracted ISSP programs keep their own statistics for the purposes of completing an annual report and to meet the criteria for accreditation (personal communication, December 9, 2009).

3.6 Canadian Sentencing Trends

Regular probation continues to be the most popular sentence in Canadian youth justice courts with 58.6% of guilty cases being given this disposition in 2006/07 (Thomas, 2008). Custody and Supervision Orders comprised 16.6% of all guilty cases that year. The intermediate

sanctions available to the youth justice courts, Deferred Custody and Supervision, and ISSP, make up only 3.2% and 1.0% of guilty cases across Canada respectively.

Roberts (2005) argued that intermediate sanctions, in combination with legislative restrictions on the use of custody, contributed to a successful government strategy to reduce the number of incarcerated youth. Although there has been a steady reduction in the use of custody since the inception of the YCJA, it is difficult to credit much of the overall reduction in Canada's use of youth custody on the introduction of ISSP sentences.

Of the 34,065 youth justice cases resulting in findings of guilt in 2006/07, only 347 (1%) were given ISSP orders (Thomas, 2008). British Columbia accounted for 301 of those cases. The only other provinces to issue ISSP sentences were Quebec (16 cases), Ontario (16 cases), and Alberta (11 cases). This trend continued the following year with British Columbia producing 305 of the 390 total ISSP sentences handed down in Canadian Youth Justice Court (Kong, 2009). The majority of the remaining cases came from Quebec (45) and Alberta (18).

These findings were not surprising when considering how provinces like Ontario and Nova Scotia have established their ISSP programs. Ontario initially chose to rely on conditions of regular probation, rather than specific ISSP orders to access their programs (MCYS, 2005), and Nova Scotia has limited its use of ISSP to youth being released from custody and serving deferred custody and supervision orders (NSDJ, 2008). Similarly, despite the overwhelming majority of Canada's ISSP sentences occurring in British Columbia, these dispositions did not adequately reflect the volume of youth being serviced in the 47 community and three institutional ISSP programs across the province.

Overall, the use of ISSP in Canada, and other jurisdictions around the world, adhered to the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice ("Beijing

Rules”) which encouraged global youth justice systems to seek alternatives to custody for young offenders whenever possible. The various models developed in the United States, England/Wales, Australia, and Canada confirmed that policy makers in these countries shared common goals of reducing youth recidivism, lowering youth custody rates and justice system costs, all without compromising public safety. The implementation of ISSP in these countries reflected the belief that young offender management and rehabilitation can occur in the youth’s home community.

However, the approaches used in the delivery of ISSP interventions continue to vary between and even within these countries. Examples of ISSP range from the simple addition of a one-to-one support worker to the use of a phased program that moved a youth through a prescribed series of treatment interventions. Acceptance into some ISSP programs required multiple convictions and a high risk rating, where as others needed very specific mental health criteria to be satisfied. As well, access to some ISSP initiatives had exclusionary policies for youth who were leaving custody or on regular probation only. To date, there have not been widespread evaluative research studies on the effectiveness of these various ISSP intervention approaches, nor have they been compared to one another. Although there are still many questions as to what the most effective intervention model might be, there are several promising elements within the various programs described earlier in this chapter. Some of these program elements have been studied and are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: PROMISING ELEMENTS

The review of ISSP programming in Chapter 3 revealed a significant disparity in program approaches and designs. These various program models provided a number of unique and specialized intervention strategies which aimed to reduce juvenile recidivism and develop protective factors with youth and families. When considering the development of a program model, Hoge (2001) provided a set of guiding principles for effective programming (see Table 4.1). These principles are consistent with widely held beliefs that intensive interventions are best implemented in the community and should be reserved for higher risk youth directed at the factors that contribute most toward the youth's offending behavior, and delivered in a style that is appropriate for the age, maturity, and ability of the young person (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990; Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, & Rooney, 2000; Howell, 2003; MacKenzie, 2005).

Table 4.1 Principles of Effective Programming (Hoge, 2001)

- **Based on valid assessment of risk, need, and responsivity**
- **Intensity of service based on risk level**
- **Target criminogenic needs**
- **Take account of responsivity and protective factors**
- **Involve concrete behavioural targets**
- **Are multimodal in focus**
- **Delivered in community rather than in an institutional setting**
- **Duration of treatment based on client needs**
- **Delivered with attention to program integrity**

Hoge (2001) also suggested that effective programs should be multimodal in focus. According to Hoge (2001), this principle highlights the importance of ensuring that service interventions focus on the entire range of needs demonstrated by the youth, and that a wide range of approaches are employed to address those needs. The significance of multimodal approaches

was also supported by Coie et al. (1993) when they concluded that prevention strategies were enhanced by designing multiple intervention components, each of which addressed risk factors in different domains (e.g. individual, school, family, peer group, and community).

This chapter will explore the various interventions used in ISSP initiatives around the world that have adhered to several of the principles offered by Hoge (2001). The programming elements considered in this chapter include Multisystemic Therapy, mentoring, wraparound approaches, and cultural programming. All of these interventions have shown promise and have been subject to numerous studies to evaluate their effectiveness with high-risk young offenders.

4.1 Multi-Systemic Therapy

Multisystemic Therapy (MST) was conceived in the late 1970's to address the various limitations and high costs of existing treatment services for high-risk young offenders (MST, 2007). Developed through the lens of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of social ecology, MST viewed individuals as being nested within a set of interconnected systems that encompass individual, family, and extra-familial (peers, school, neighborhood) factors (Henggeler, Melton, & Smith, 1992). Henggeler et al. (1992) suggested that it is through dysfunctional exchanges between any one or combination of these systems that problem behaviors occur. Therefore, MST interventions aimed to target the factors within these systems that contribute to a young person's high-risk behavior and delinquency, while promoting and enhancing the protective factors that encourage pro-social behavior (MST, 2007; NCPC, 2008).

Ultimately, the goal is to empower individuals and families to make the necessary and practical changes within their natural environments (home, community) to mitigate the occurrence of further anti-social behavior and delinquency (Curtis, Ronan, & Borduin, 2004).

Specifically, MST aims to address any identified barriers to effective parenting, such as parental drug abuse, poor discipline practices, and marital conflict, as well as to decrease the youth's association with delinquent peers, increase the youth's involvement with pro-social peers and activities, improve the youth's school performance, and develop a support network for the youth that includes extended family, neighbors, and friends (Howell, 2003; NCPC, 2008).

MST employs nine core treatment principles that program developers assert must be adhered to in order to achieve favorable long-term outcomes. These principles are:

1. The purpose of assessment is to understand the fit between the problems identified and their broader systemic context;
2. Therapeutic contacts emphasize the positive and use systemic strengths as levers for change;
3. Interventions are designed to promote responsible behaviour and decrease irresponsible behaviour among family members;
4. Interventions are present focused and action oriented, targeting specific and well-defined problems;
5. Interventions target sequences of behaviour within and between multiple systems that maintain the identified problems;
6. Interventions are developmentally appropriate and fit the developmental needs of the youth;
7. Interventions are designed to require daily or weekly effort by family members;
8. Intervention effectiveness is evaluated continuously from multiple perspectives, with providers assuming accountability for overcoming barriers to successful outcomes; and
9. Interventions are designed to promote treatment generalization and long-term maintenance of therapeutic change by empowering caregivers to address family member's needs across multiple systemic contexts (Howell, 2003: 235; MST, 2007: 10).

MST is typically provided in the family home by a master's degree-level therapist who carries a caseload of 4-6 families and is available for crisis intervention 24 hours a day, seven days a week (MST, 2007). The average duration of treatment is four months, which includes approximately 60 hours of face-to-face therapist-family contact at a cost of approximately \$4,500 per youth

(NCPC, 2008). A typical MST team, consisting of three MST-trained therapists and a clinical supervisor, could provide services for approximately 50 families a year (MST, 2007).

Evaluation studies into the effectiveness of MST as a therapeutic intervention for high risk juvenile offenders began when Henggeler et al. (1986) compared 57 young offenders and their families who completed MST treatment with 23 delinquent youth and their families who completed an alternate mental health service. These two groups were also compared to 44 “normal adolescents” and their families who were neither delinquent, nor involved in treatment. Henggeler and his colleagues (1986) concluded that the MST treatment group demonstrated improved family relationships, decreased behavioral problems, and decreased associations with antisocial peers, whereas the alternative treatment group evidenced no positive changes and showed a deterioration in their affective relationships. The “normal” group was found to have experienced changes considered typical for normal adolescent development.

Henggeler, Melton, and Smith (1992) explored the outcomes for 84 serious juvenile offenders and their families who were randomly assigned to receive either MST (n = 43) or the usual treatment services delivered by the South Carolina Department of Youth Services (n = 41). These two groups were compared after a 59 week follow-up to evaluate differences on measures of re-arrest and incarceration. The researchers found that youth who received MST had fewer arrests and self-reported offences, and spent an average of 10 fewer weeks incarcerated (Henggeler et al., 1992). Furthermore, Henggeler et al. (1993) claimed that treatment gains were sustained after a 2.4 year follow up with these youth and their families. Although the overall re-arrest figures were high, the researchers found that fewer MST youth were re-arrested (61 per cent) compared to the usual treatment services group (80 per cent).

In another longitudinal study, Borduin and his colleagues (1995) endeavored to examine the long-term effects of MST versus individual therapy (IT) on the prevention of criminal behavior. In total, 176 high risk juvenile offenders and their families were randomly assigned to receive treatment either through MST (n = 92) or individual therapy (n = 84). This sample was further categorized into one of four groups: MST completers (n = 77); MST dropouts (n = 15); IT completers (n = 63); and IT dropouts (n = 21). Borduin et al. (1995) conducted a four year follow up of these groups exploring various measures of family functioning and criminal activity. They found that youth treated with MST were significantly less likely than comparison groups to be rearrested and, when arrested, they had committed significantly less serious offences (Borduin et al., 1995). Additionally, the researchers concluded that, although MST dropouts were at higher risk of arrest (46.6 per cent) than MST completers (22.1 per cent), MST dropouts fared much better on this measure than both the IT completers (71.4 per cent) and IT dropouts (71.4 per cent) suggesting that even brief exposure to MST could be beneficial for some juvenile offenders (Borduin et al., 1995).

Ten years later, Schaeffer and Borduin (2005) studied this group again and conducted the longest follow up study of a MST clinical trial with serious juvenile offenders. The original sample of 176 youth was now, on average, 28.8 years old. Nearly 14 years after treatment completion, Schaeffer and Borduin (2005) found that the MST participants were significantly less likely to be rearrested (50 per cent) than IT participants (81 per cent), and were sentenced to 61% fewer days incarcerated in adult facilities, and were sentenced to 37% fewer days on adult probation than their IT counterparts.

The perceived effectiveness of MST, as reported in these earlier studies, prompted the federal government of Canada to partner with the Province of Ontario to conduct a study to

determine if MST would be more effective and cost-efficient in reducing criminal behavior than services already available in Ontario (Cunningham, 2002). The project aimed to track the criminal convictions of 409 youth from four different communities in Southern Ontario over a three year period.¹¹ These youth and their families were randomly assigned to either the experimental group, which received MST (n = 211), or the control group (n = 198), which engaged in the usual services available in their area (Lescheid and Cunningham, 2002). According to Lescheid and Cunningham (2002), this study was the first independent evaluation of MST not conducted by the developers of the program.

Ontario's Centre for Children and Families in the Justice System (CCFJS) released the final results of this study in 2006. The report concluded that there were no statistically significant differences between the youth that received MST and those who participated in regular community services on a number of criminal behavior measures (CCFJS, 2006). The results showed that both groups had very similar outcomes in terms of incurring at least one criminal conviction (MST = 68.2% compared to Control = 66.5%), being sentenced to youth custody during the follow-up period (MST = 48.8% compared to Control = 48.0%), and the average time spent in custody (MST = 184.4 days compared to Control = 172.2 days).

Lescheid and Cunningham (2002) also concluded that MST failed to live up to its claim of being a cost effective intervention. They attributed much of the expense to the low therapist-to-family ratio and the high cost of training and consultation. Overall, it was estimated that the cost of providing the service was approximately \$6,000 - \$7,000 per youth under non-research conditions (Lescheid and Cunningham, 2002).

Since the Ontario study, there have been two other independent replication studies of MST in a real world setting. In the United States, Timmons-Mitchell, Bender, Kishna, and

¹¹ The communities participating in the study included, London, Mississauga, Simcoe County, and Ottawa.

Mitchell (2006) randomly assigned 93 young offenders to participate in MST (n = 48) or receive treatment as usual services (n = 45). After an 18 month follow-up period, Timmons-Mitchell et al. (2006) found that, although the “treatment as usual” youth were 3.2 times more likely to be rearrested than the MST group, the MST recidivism rate was still substantial and higher than what was reported in earlier evaluations overseen by the original program developers.

The other independent evaluation of MST was conducted by Ogden and Halliday-Boykins (2004) in Norway. In this study, 100 antisocial adolescents were randomly assigned to participate in MST (n = 62) or receive the usual Child Welfare Services (n = 38). Ogden and Halliday-Boykins (2004) found that, after a six month follow-up, youth who received MST demonstrated greater social competence and were significantly less likely to be moved to an out-of-home placement than the youth who received the usual Child Welfare Services.

Clearly, there was still a need for further independent research into the effectiveness of MST versus standard treatment interventions. Despite the critical analysis of the Ontario study (see Lescheid and Cunningham, 2002), the Government of Canada’s National Crime Prevention Centre endorsed MST as a “model program” suggesting that it was a prevention program that met the highest scientific standard for effectiveness (NCPC, 2008). Certainly, many of the principles and objectives of MST were consistent with other scholarly opinions of how to effectively treat young offenders (see Andrews, 2000; DeGusti et al., 2009; MacKenzie, 2005; Sherman et al., 1998).

Lescheid and Cunningham (2002) suggested that there were substantial costs associated with implementing MST, including training, consultation, supervision, and licensing. Furthermore, they argued that these costs were not recovered, as posited by the program developers, through savings associated with lower recidivism or incarceration rates. Lescheid

and Cunningham (2002) added that the financial commitment to MST Services Inc. is onerous and on-going, and presumably in place to ensure treatment fidelity.

Interestingly, when compared to the average costs of supervising a youth in British Columbia on regular community supervision, MST is quite similar. According to a 2009 Joint Special Report in BC, the estimated cost to supervise a youth in the community was approximately \$20,000 per year. This would average out to be approximately \$1,700 per month. When calculated over a four month period (the same time it takes to complete MST), it would cost \$6,800 which is within the \$6,000 - \$7,000 range Lescheid and Cunningham (2002) estimated MST would cost.

The focus of MST to work with youth and families in their home communities to assist in overcoming the barriers to a pro-social lifestyle and to develop protective factors are consistent with the goals and objectives of ISSP. Therefore, MST would be compatible with any ISSP initiative. The body of research supporting the program and the principles with which it operates continues to make MST a promising treatment approach worthy of further consideration and evaluation.

4.2 Mentoring

The concept of mentorship dates back to ancient times. The term was first used in Homer's *The Odyssey*, 700 years before the birth of Christ. In this mythological tale, Odysseus, the king of Ithaca, asked his trusted friend Mentor to watch over and counsel his young son Telemachus while he was away fighting in the Trojan War. Consequently, Mentor's character inspired the notion of mentoring; a concept commonly used today to describe the tutelage an older, wiser person provides to a younger, inexperienced charge (Baker and Maguire, 2005).

Capturing all the nuances of mentorship in a single definition is not an easy task. Newburn and Shiner (2006) highlighted this difficulty when they suggested that mentoring could involve a variety of approaches, including facilitating, coaching, buddying, befriending, counseling, tutoring, teaching, life-styling, and role-modeling. Some definitions are more straightforward, describing mentoring simply as a process of transferring skills and knowledge from a mentor to a mentee (Buell, 2004). Delaney and Milne (2002) provided an equally generic explanation of mentoring as a mutually beneficial relationship that involved a more experienced person helping a less experienced person. Freedman (1992) referred to Professor Uri Bronfenbrenner's more classical definition of a mentor as "an older, more experienced person who seeks to further the development of character and competence in a younger person on a more or less regular basis over an extended period of time" (1992: 11). Freedman added that the mentoring relationship is characterized by a special bond of mutual commitment, respect, and identification.

When considering the notion of mentoring at-risk youth, the scope of the definition must change to reflect this specialized task. Jakielek, Moore, Hair, and Scarupa (2002) offered a more focused explanation by stating that mentoring was a sustained relationship between a young person and an adult in which the adult provided the young person with support, guidance, and assistance. Becker (1994) further suggested that the mentoring relationship should focus unequivocally on the thoughts, feelings, and dreams of the young person with the aim of fostering in the younger person a sense of importance, self-esteem, and competence.

All mentors and mentoring efforts generally fit into one of two categories: natural mentoring or planned/formal mentoring (Thompson and Kelly-Vance, 2001). Natural mentors are non-parental adults who form spontaneous normative relationships with youth in natural

settings. These types of mentors can include teachers, coaches, counselors, ministers, and extended family members (Zimmerman, Bingenheimer, & Notaro, 2002). Natural mentors typically have less emotional attachment to their mentees than the youth have with their parents or peers. The mentors generally adopt more of a teaching or role modeling function and place a greater emphasis on discussing personal issues and changing behavior (Rhodes et al., 2002; Zimmerman, Bingenheimer, & Notaro, 2002).

Unfortunately, the traditional structure of families, schools, and communities has changed significantly. The increase in single-parent homes, higher teacher/student ratios in public schools, and the tendency for neighbors to keep more to themselves has contributed to a decline in the availability of natural mentors for many youth (Thompson and Kelly-Vance, 2001; Tierney, Grossman, & Resch, 1995). Consequently, a need for planned or formal mentoring programs emerged. Planned mentoring typically involves volunteer or paid mentors deliberately matched with needy or at-risk youth. In these cases, mentors are ideally recruited, trained, and supported to work with young people who have requested or been identified as in need of a responsible adult role model (Sipe, 2002).

Some of the earliest evidence of a formal youth mentoring movement occurred in the late 19th century with the introduction of the “Friendly Visitor” campaign (Freedman, 1992). In cities all over the United States, charitable organizations gathered volunteers to “raise the character and elevate the moral nature of the poor” and act as role models to the children (Freedman, 1992: 8). However, at the turn of the century, economic downturns and a vast shortage of volunteers led to the early demise of the Friendly Visitor program.

In 1904, Ernest K. Coulter left journalism to work in the first Children’s Court in New York City (Freedman, 1992). He grew concerned about the number of tragic cases of child

neglect and despair, and believed the court's lack of response to those issues contributed to a high rate of delinquency and recidivism. Coulter decided to petition a group of middle-class businessman and professionals to become a "big brother" to a child in need. That night, 39 men became the first "big brothers" volunteers (Freedman, 1992: 9). By 1921, the Big Brothers/Big Sisters Federation was formed establishing standards for mentoring programs and one-to-one relationships. Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America grew into the largest mentoring organization of its kind servicing hundreds of thousands of children in over 5,000 communities in the United States (Johns, 2003). Building on the success and popularity of this movement, new Big Brothers/Big Sisters organizations have emerged in 12 other countries (bbbs.org, 2009). In Canada, there were 140 Big Brothers/Big Sisters agencies in over 1,000 communities providing volunteer mentoring services to more than 26,000 at-risk children (bigbrothersbigsisters.ca, 2009).

One of the most cited studies in youth mentorship research is Tierney, Grossman, and Resch's (1995) study of 959 youth who were randomly assigned to either receive a Big Brother/Big Sisters mentor or placed on an 18 month waitlist. The youth who met regularly with their mentors for one year were 46% less likely than the control group to use illegal drugs, 27% less likely to start drinking, 52% less likely to skip a day of school, and 37% less likely to skip a class. Tierney et al. (1995) concluded that the optimal amount of time to be shared between the youth and mentor was approximately four hours per visit, three times a month. Grossman and Rhodes (2002) found that adolescents who were involved in mentoring relationships that exceeding one year experienced a greater number of improvements in academic, psychosocial, and behavioral outcomes than youth in these same relationships for less than one year.

Upon considering much of the research that has been completed on youth mentoring programs, Jakielek et al., (2002) concluded that young people who participated in these programs benefited significantly. The authors argued that mentored youth could be expected to have fewer absences from school, better attitudes toward elders and helping others in general, improved relationships with their parents, fewer incidents of violence, and less substance use. In their study, Keating et al., (2002) supported the use of mentoring with at-risk youth as a component of a multi-service approach.

The logic of using formal mentors with juvenile offenders has not been overlooked. In 1992, the United States Federal Government amended the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Act (1974) to formally recognize mentoring as a tactic to address youth crime (Grossman and Garry, 1997). This led to the establishment of the Juvenile Mentoring Program (JUMP). The creators of JUMP designed the program with the intention of matching positive adult mentors and role models with at-risk youth to reduce rates of delinquency, gang involvement, substance abuse, and school dropout. Since 1996, the US government's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has invested over 40 million dollars in JUMP programs nationwide (Blechman and Bopp, 2005). Once again, the American example inspired the development of similar programs for adjudicated youth throughout the world, including the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand (Delaney and Milne, 2002; Newburn and Shiner, 2006).

The use of mentors with any high risk youth involved in ISSP is crucial. Mentors have immediate access to their mentees in the community and have a unique opportunity to model pro-social values and behaviors, teach problem solving and life skills, and promote healthy bonds to social institutions, like school, family, and community. However, it is critical that these

mentors and/or individual support workers are selected carefully and receive adequate training and support.

Andrews (2000) argued that program integrity was enhanced when workers were chosen, trained, and supervised with particular reference to the attitudes and skills required for effective service delivery. This is also true for mentoring programs. Paid mentors should be hired not only for their academic and employment credentials, but also for their ability to relate to youth and families in a compassionate, sincere, and human way. Training for the mentors should address the complicated issues of adolescent development, cultural awareness, criminogenic risk factors, protective factors, community resources, and the importance of establishing a rapport and trusting relationship with the youth and their family.

Hoge (2001) suggested that the duration of any effective program be based on the client's needs. Lipsey (1995) argued that programs longer than six months, or with service contact over 100 hours, were more successful than shorter programs. Conversely, Latimer, Dowden, and Morton-Bourgon (2003) asserted that programs should be limited to six months, with a maximum of 20 hours of exposure to treatment for lower risk offenders. Latimer et al., (2003) conceded that treatment hours should increase for higher risk offenders. Alternatively, the mentoring literature suggested that youth engaged in these dyadic relationships for one year or more fared better overall in terms of educational, behavioral, and psychosocial outcomes (Grossman and Rhodes, 2002).

The role of the paid professional mentor parallels the function of the intensive supervision support worker. The combined supervision/intervention model of programmatic mentoring is consistent with the findings that enhanced supervision alone is not effective in reducing recidivism (see Armstrong, 1991). Bouffard and Bergseth (2008) suggested that

mentoring may provide the “active ingredient” beyond the potentially effective combination of supervision and specific treatment services. Furthermore, through the typical mentoring activities, such as attending support group sessions, community activities, and one to one time between adult paid mentors and their mentees, high-risk juvenile offenders develop and strengthen their pro-social bonds to society, thereby increasing chances of successful reintegration and inclusion.

However, there remain some inherent risks with formal mentoring programs. Youth and families can easily become dependent on the services and skills of the mentor. Such dependence, if not properly addressed, could lead to a young person feeling unprepared to manage life stressors independently. A consequence of this concern could be the youth’s return to criminal activity, substance abuse, truancy, or other anti-social behavior. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the mentor to coach and empower mentees to manage life situations confidently and independently so that when the dyadic relationship ends, the youth will be able to navigate these challenging tasks or situations successfully.

Another potential drawback in paid mentor programs is the risk that the youth mentee will perceive the relationship with the mentor as phony or superficial. Young people in these programs are acutely aware that their role-models are being paid to spend time with them. This could lead to the youth feeling skeptical and untrusting of his/her mentor, thereby not valuing or internalize the skills being taught. In this situation, the rapport and relationship developed between the mentor and mentee is critical.

In an audit of 23 mentoring programs in Australia, researchers found that the characteristics of successful mentors included a non-judgmental attitude, the ability to listen, flexibility, reliability, and respect for young people (Johns, 2003). The quality of the mentor’s

personality was also deemed to be more important than age or ethnicity. Sipe (2002) argued that effective mentors should maintain a steady presence in a youth's life, value their point of view, respect their need for fun, get to know the youth's family without getting too involved, and seek the help and advice of program staff. Furthermore, mentors who did not meet regularly with their youth, adopted an authoritarian role, or emphasized behavior change more than developing mutual trust or respect, were not as successful.

Rowley (1999) identified six essential qualities of a 'good mentor'. He suggested that a good mentor possess an unwavering commitment to the task of helping others and through that commitment truly believes that they can make a difference. Secondly, good mentors were empathetic and accepting of others without passing judgment. Good mentors should also be willing to provide instructional support and coach their mentees to help them improve their skills. Fourthly, Rowley argued that mentors must be able to adjust their communication style to best meet the needs and abilities of their mentees. Good mentors were willing to learn and grow with their mentees and did not pretend to have all the answers or solutions to every problem. Lastly, Rowley suggested that a good mentor was able to communicate their belief that the mentee could overcome whatever challenges they faced and affirmed their potential to accomplish great things.

Often, success stories of adolescents who have persevered and overcome adversity mention the help of a supportive non-parent adult or mentor (Rhodes et al., 2002). This is consistent with the current body of research that supports the involvement of a caring, consistent non-parent adult in the lives of young people. Unfortunately, the opportunity to form these types of natural mentoring relationships in the community has diminished. As a result, planned mentoring programs for at-risk and delinquent youth have emerged throughout the world.

However, just simply matching an at-risk youth with a well intentioned adult does not always produce the desired results. Attention must be given to the qualities, styles, and approaches of the mentor, the youth's needs, and the frequency and duration of the dyadic relationship. When utilized as a compliment to a greater multidisciplinary approach, such as ISSP, planned youth mentoring is an effective strategy to help adolescents make positive, long-lasting changes.

4.3 Wraparound Approach

Further to the argument for the use of multidisciplinary approaches, Howell (2003) asserted that multiple service integration and collaboration were important elements of successful treatment interventions for high risk youth. However, an increased number of professional helpers and services for families also produce the potential risk that these professionals will become overly relied upon to give direction and make decisions. Furthermore, the development of separate child welfare, juvenile justice, education, mental health, housing, vocational, addictions treatment, social assistance, and medical services also perpetuates the “silo effect” that contributes to a system of interventions that neither collaborates, nor accounts for the individualized needs and issues of families (VanDerBerg, Osher, & Lourie, n.d.). Howell (2003) concluded that children who were at risk of becoming chronic, serious, violent offenders required networked and integrated services simultaneously, similar to the approach used in wraparound programs.

The wraparound term was first used by Dr. Lenore Behar in 1979 when she developed the Willie M. Program in North Carolina (Howell, 2003). The program provided community-based treatment for children and adolescents who had serious emotional, mental, or neurological

disabilities, coupled with violent or aggressive behavior. Dr. Behar developed an integrated system of service model that wrapped individualized services around the adolescent and their families using a case manager approach (Howell, 2003). Around the same time, in Canada, John Brown and his associates developed the Brownsdale programs that adopted a similar approach, providing unconditional, individualized needs-based services to emotionally troubled youth and their families (Howell, 2003; VanDenBerg et al., 2008).

According to VanDenBerg, Bruns, & Burchard (2008), the wraparound process is a collaborative, team-based approach to service and support planning for children and youth with complex needs. In addition to services and support for the child or youth, services and supports are also provided to the youth's family. Burns and Goldman defined wraparound as "a philosophy of care that includes a definable planning process involving the child and family that results in a unique set of community services and natural supports individualized for that child and family to achieve a positive set of outcomes" (1999: 13). At the core of this service approach is the belief that if the needs of a youth and family are met, it is likely that the youth and family will have a good or improved life (VanDenBerg et al., 2008).

Wraparound is rooted in the same theoretical framework as Multisystemic Therapy in that both embrace a social-ecological philosophy. Through this perspective, it is suggested that high-risk youth and their families will function better if assisted within their immediate home and community environments, while the larger service systems utilize and coordinate interventions across individual, parent, family, and community domains (Howell, 2003; Pullmann et al., 2006). Burns and Goldman (1999) argued that the ecological perspective that guides wraparound is important because to improve a child's healthy functioning, environmental

influences, including the family, the community, and the service system, must support the strengths of the youth and family.

Table 4.2 Ten Essential Elements of the Wraparound Process

- **Wraparound efforts must be based in the community;**
- **Services and supports must be individualized and built on strengths, and they must meet the needs of children and families;**
- **The process must be culturally competent;**
- **Families must be full and active partners in the wraparound process;**
- **The wraparound process must be team driven, involving the family, the youth, natural supports, agencies, and community services working together to develop, implement, and evaluate the individualized service plan;**
- **Wraparound teams must use flexible approaches supported by adequate and flexible funding;**
- **The wraparound plan must include a balance of formal services and informal community and family resources;**
- **Unconditional commitment of wraparound team members to the process;**
- **The service/support plan should be developed and implemented based on an interagency, community/neighbourhood collaborative process; and**
- **Outcomes must be determined and measured for each goal established with the child and family as well as for those goals established at the program and system level.¹²**

From its inception, the wraparound term and its philosophies have grown more popular and more widely utilized in the support of youth with serious emotional and behavioral issues (Walker and Bruns, 2006). Consequently, the large expansion of wraparound initiatives in North America led to the demand for a clearly defined model for wraparound service providers to follow (VanDenBerg et al., 2008). In 1998, a group of wraparound stakeholders gathered at Duke University to address this need, and developed the ten essential elements of the wraparound process (see Table 4.2).

¹² Adapted from Burns and Goldman, 1999.

Table 4.3 Ten Principles of the Wraparound Process

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- 1. Family Voice and Choice**
 - Family and youth perspectives are intentionally elicited and prioritized during all phases of the wraparound process.
 - 2. Team Based**
 - The wraparound team consists of individuals agreed upon by the family and committed to them through informal, formal, and community support and service relationships.
 - 3. Natural Supports**
 - The team actively seeks out and encourages the full participation of team members drawn from family members' networks of interpersonal and community relationships.
 - 4. Collaboration**
 - Team members work cooperatively and share responsibility for developing, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating a single wraparound plan.
 - 5. Community-Based**
 - The wraparound team implements service and support strategies that take place in the most inclusive, most responsive, most accessible, and least restrictive settings possible; and that safely promote child and family integration into home and community life.
 - 6. Culturally Competent**
 - The wraparound process demonstrates respect for and builds on the values, preferences, beliefs, culture, and identity of the child/youth and family, and their community.
 - 7. Individualized**
 - To achieve the goals laid out in the wraparound plan, the team develops and implements a customized set of strategies, supports, and services.
 - 8. Strengths Based**
 - The wraparound process and the wraparound plan identify, build on, and enhance the capabilities, knowledge, skills, and assets of the child and family, their community, and other team members.
 - 9. Persistence**
 - Despite challenges, the team persists in working toward the goals included in the wraparound plan until the team reaches agreement that a formal wraparound process is no longer required.
 - 10. Outcome Based**
 - The team ties the goals and strategies of the wraparound plan to observable or measurable indicators of success, monitors progress in terms of these indicators, and revises the plan accordingly.¹³
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¹³ Adapted from Bruns et al., 2004.

These elements were further refined in 2004 by the members of the National Wraparound Initiative Advisory Group. This committee established the ten principles of the wraparound process (see Table 4.3) which were intended to provide wraparound practitioners, communities, and families more clarity on the specific characteristics of the wraparound process model (Bruns et al., 2004).

The wraparound process begins by assembling a team of supporters who share a common interest in seeing the struggling youth or family succeed. This support team can include family members, service providers, and members of the family's natural and community support networks (Walker and Bruns, 2006). With the assistance of a wraparound facilitator, the support team develops an individualized plan based on the strengths, needs, and culture of the child and their family (VanDenBerg et al., 2008; VanDerBerg, Osher, & Lourie, n.d.). According to Walker and Bruns (2006), a typical plan would include a combination of formal services and interventions, with community services and interpersonal support and assistance from friends, relatives, and other members of the family's social network. These services could include substance abuse counseling, mental health treatment, education, caregiver support, employment and housing assistance, mentorship, transportation, and others, all coordinated with service sectors such as child welfare and juvenile justice (Pullmann et al., 2006). The elements of the plan are assessed regularly and modified when desired outcomes are not being attained.

According to Burns et al. (2000), the wraparound philosophy embodies several key values relevant to high risk juvenile treatment. These include: parental and youth involvement in determining service needs; providing services close to home and in natural environmental settings; safety, success, and permanence in home, school, and the community; and

unconditional care that is individualized, strengths based, culturally competent, family and community centered.

According to Pullmann et al. (2006), research and evaluations of the use of wraparound programs in the youth justice system is limited. Burns and Goldman (1999) suggested that the existing body of wraparound research was largely descriptive, and that more controlled research and evaluations were needed. However, there are some examples of juvenile justice wraparound programs that have offered information about their effectiveness.

In 1996, Wraparound Milwaukee initiated a pilot program aimed at working with youth who were under court order for placement by child welfare and the juvenile court (Goldman and Faw, 1998). The success of the pilot program led to the continuation and expansion of Wraparound Milwaukee, which grew to service 650 youth and families for the same cost as is required to place 360 youth in residential treatment centres (Kamradt, 2000). The program also boasted significant reductions in recidivism rates for the 134 delinquent youth measured in a one year post-enrollment review, as well as improved functioning at home, school, and the community (Kamradt, 2000). Wraparound Milwaukee further claimed credit for substantial reductions in the use of residential treatment and psychiatric hospitalization, with the average number of children in residential care per day dropping from 360 to 240, and the use of psychiatric hospitalization declining from 23,000 days per year to 13,000 days (Goldman and Faw, 1998; Kamradt, 2000). According to Goldman and Faw (1998), there were also systemic benefits in improved relationships between child welfare, juvenile justice, and mental health systems. Although there were many positive outcomes credited to the Wraparound Milwaukee Program, the findings were not compared to a similar population of youth who did not receive the program.

Founded in 1997, the Dawn Project in Indianapolis also used the wraparound philosophy to assist youth with serious emotional and behavioral challenges. In a study conducted by Anderson et al. (2003), data was collected on the first 145 adolescents that exited the program (completers; n = 100, non-completers; n = 45). The researchers claimed that after a six month follow up, 83 of the 100 completers were successful in staying out of the system, whereas 40 of the 45 non-completers (88 per cent) were returned through the Department of Corrections. Pullmann et al. (2006) warned that these results must be considered cautiously because only 10 youth in the sample entered the study through juvenile detention, nearly one-third of the program participants were excluded from the research, and there was no comparison to a similar group who did not receive the program.

Since its inception in 2001, the Connections Program in Clark County, Washington has utilized wraparound approaches to service the needs of juvenile offenders with emotional and behavioral disorders. Pullmann et al. (2006) conducted a study where 98 youth who received services from both the mental health and juvenile justice systems were compared with 106 delinquent youth who participated in the Connections Program. In a 790 day follow up review, the authors found that youth in the comparison group were 2.8 times more likely to commit a criminal offence and three times more likely to commit a felony offence than the youth in the Connections group. The study also concluded that 72% of the youth in Connections served at least some time in juvenile detention following the program, whereas 100% of the youth in the comparison group returned to custody. Pullmann et al. (2006) also found that the average number of days served in custody by the Connections youth was 59 compared to an average of 102 days for the youth in the comparison group.

Interest in the use and development of wraparound programs has spread worldwide. Millions of dollars in grants have been allocated for wraparound initiatives, and numerous organizations and committees have been formed to coordinate the implementation of these projects (Burns and Goldman, 1999). In Canada, a national association called Wrap Canada was formed in 2008 to promote, assist, support, and train people involved in the wraparound process (Debicki, 2009). However, despite its growing popularity, there are still some challenges inherent in wraparound programming.

When attempting to assemble and coordinate a large number of service providers, it is difficult to create an environment of absolute equality and transparency. Each practitioner on the team has his/her own mandate and responsibility to the youth, family, or community. With respect to information sharing, this challenge can be ever present. Probation officers are limited in what and to whom they can share information about a youth's offence history, medical practitioners and counselors are bound by strict rules of confidentiality about what is said in their sessions, and families are instinctively guarded in sharing everything about themselves. This can create a hierarchy of knowledge within the team, leaving some feeling excluded, uninformed, or disrespected.

Team members also possess differing levels of power and influence over the lives of the young person and their family. The feelings of the support team become secondary when the probation officer feels compelled to process a technical violation, or the social worker decides to remove a child from their natural family. Additionally, the desire to keep the wraparound process family-driven is also problematic, especially when dealing with severely damaged, unhealthy, or uncooperative families. When working with juvenile offenders, it is the youth who are court ordered to participate in services, not the parents, which creates a much different dynamic in the

treatment process. In these cases, the support team may have to make decisions that are contrary to the family's wishes, but in the best interest of the child.

Wraparound as a philosophy is consistent with many of the principles of effective programming (see Hoge, 2001) and is compatible with many global applications of intensive support and supervision for juvenile offenders (see DCS, 2009b; Krisberg et al., 1994; Moore et al, 2004). As a service strategy, wraparound offers a promising approach to be considered in the greater intensive support and supervision initiative. However, further evaluative research is necessary to determine the true effectiveness of this intervention with the high risk juvenile offender population.

4.4 Cultural Competence

The overrepresentation of Aboriginal youth in the Canadian youth justice system has long been a concern for policy makers, making the need for cultural competence in young offender programming very important. The term "cultural competence" suggests an ability to understand and work effectively across cultures. Individually, this can be achieved through respectful communication and cooperation with people from diverse cultures, whereas organizationally, cultural competence is demonstrated through the creation of appropriate policies and practice standards that make services more accessible to diverse populations in cross-cultural situations (Victim Services & Crime Prevention, 2009). Couture (2000) suggested that inter-cultural competence is manifested through a style of service delivery that is perceived by the client and community as credible and giving, effective and trustworthy.

The need for culturally competent approaches becomes apparent when the disparities between incarceration rates for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth are considered. Latimer and

Foss (2004) suggested that while Aboriginal youth in Canada comprise only 5% of the population, they accounted for 33% of the youth in custody. Corrado, Cohen, and Watkinson (2008) found in their study of 500 incarcerated young offenders in British Columbia, Aboriginal youth served significantly more time in custody over their lifetime than non-Aboriginal youth, and, on average, served a greater number of months on probation. This phenomenon was also true in Australia where Indigenous youth were 24.5% more likely to receive custody than non-Indigenous youth (Walker and MacDonald, 1998).

Corrado, Cohen, and Wilkenson (2008) argued that some of the risk factors associated with the disproportionate number of Aboriginal youth in custody included poverty, clashes between Aboriginal and Western concepts of justice, and the destruction of Aboriginal values and traditions through colonization and forced assimilation policies of the past. When compared to their non-Aboriginal counterparts, Aboriginal youth in custody reported significantly higher rates of mobility, family dysfunction, alcoholism, drug use, physical and/or sexual abuse, school difficulty, and foster care placement (Corrado and Cohen, 2002).

Preston, Carr-Stewart, and Northwest (2009) suggested that Aboriginal youth needed to be afforded more opportunities to acquire self-competency in areas, such as education, Indigenous language, vocational training, cultural knowledge, and social demeanor. Corrado and Cohen (2002) echoed this proposition arguing that the most effective approaches for high risk Aboriginal youth were those that incorporated culturally-sensitive and culturally-centered rehabilitation and treatment strategies. Latimer and Foss (2004) asserted that Aboriginal youth wanted access to traditional culture based programming (see Table 4.4) and would like to have more frequent contact with Aboriginal elders. The use of Aboriginal mentors would be beneficial

in a number of ways, including providing youth with a positive role model and mitigating the lack of trust youth feel toward the system that is working with them.

Table 4.4 Examples of Culturally-Centered Approaches

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talking/Healing Circles • Smudges • Sweat lodges • Sun Dances • Fasts • Horseback Riding • Teaching Traditional Language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pow-wows • Drumming • Singing • Dancing • Crafts • Cultural Camps • Mentoring from Elders¹⁴
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Cultural competence in young offender programming however, must go beyond the mere availability of cultural activities for youth to engage in, and include recognition and respect for the values, beliefs, traditions, and customs of the youth and their family. Couture (2000) recognized that there was a large range of behavioral and attitudinal differences between and within the various Aboriginal groupings across Canada. Each Aboriginal group has its own unique regional and local history, and has been impacted differently from its contact with Europeans. Service approaches with Aboriginal youth and families must take into consideration the unique attributes of the local Native culture

Some ways that Aboriginal young offender programs can ensure a measure of local cultural competence is achieved includes: employing staff from the local culture; providing cultural awareness and sensitivity training to program staff; and involving the family in the therapeutic process. Family relationships with people and organizations with whom they share a cultural identity is also encouraged because those connections are more likely to continue as

¹⁴ Adapted from Couture, 2000; Latimer and Foss, 2004.

sources of strength and support to the family long after the formal services have ended (Bruns et al., 2004).

The promising approaches discussed in this chapter share a common theme of addressing the individual risks and needs of high risk youth and their families within their home communities rather than institutions or other custodial environments. This social ecological approach encourages intervention strategies across several domains including individual, family, peer, school, and community levels. Critical to the success of these measures are cooperation and coordination of various services and stakeholders as demonstrated in wraparound and multisystemic approaches. All of these promising approaches, in isolation, are supported in the research literature as an effective strategy to influence positive outcomes for high risk youth and their families. Within the greater intensive support and supervision movement, any of these promising interventions could be applied or combined to provide a more comprehensive youth justice response to delinquency. Such measures would be compatible with youth justice mandates of accountability, rehabilitation, and public safety. The challenge is in the establishment, coordination, and funding of these initiatives.

Chapter 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The resurgence in popularity of juvenile intensive support and supervision programs throughout North America and Europe created many inquiries into how effective these approaches are at reducing recidivism in high risk young offenders. Despite common theoretical rationales, political objectives, and correctional system mandates, there is still much disparity among countries and, in some cases, within countries (e.g. United States and Canada) as to how ISSP is delivered.

To date, research supports the construct of intensive support and supervision as a hybrid of enhanced juvenile surveillance and accountability, while simultaneously providing youth with essential treatment and rehabilitative services (see Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994; MacKenzie, 1999; Petersilia and Turner, 1993; Wiebush et al., 2005). The literature on young offender programming also suggests that interventions with high risk youth are most effective when they are multimodal, community-based, targeted at specific criminogenic risk factors and protective developmental assets, responsive to the characteristics of youth, and attentive to program fidelity (see Andrews et al., 1990; DeGusti et al., 2009; Hoge, 2001; MacKenzie, 2005). Furthermore, the literature supports a social-ecological approach where service providers sought to assist delinquent youth and their families across several environmental systems, including individual, peer, family, community, and cultural domains (see Borduin et al., 1995; Henggeler et al., 1992; Kamradt, 2000; Pullmann et al., 2006). The literature on effective interventions with delinquent youth also endorsed the use of natural and/or formal adult mentors that not only are skilled and educated, but also compassionate and culturally sensitive (see Bouffard and Bergseth, 2008; Grossman and Gary, 1997; Keating et al., 2002). All of these approaches are possible in a well designed intensive support and supervision program.

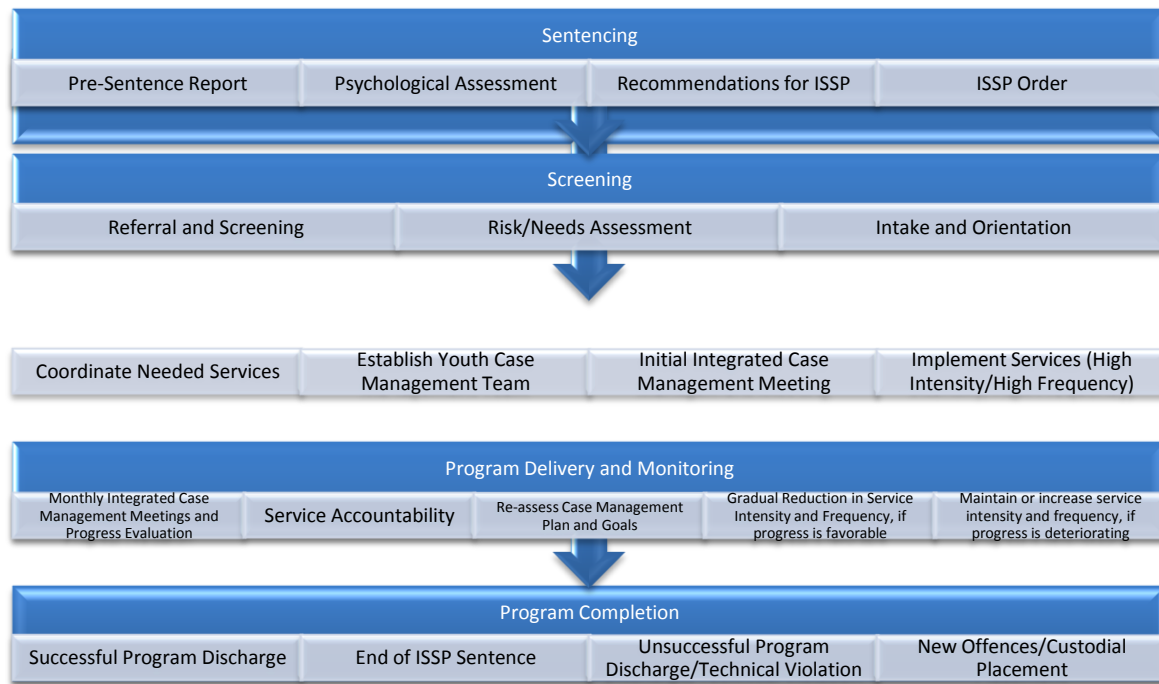
The current challenge in Canada is the vast discrepancy in the definition and application of ISSP across jurisdictions. A consistent model of ISSP does not exist nationally or, in some cases, provincially either. The federal government gives the responsibility to define, establish, implement, and monitor ISSP programming to the provinces. Consequently provinces tailor and target their ISSP initiatives toward the young offender population they deem most in need. Therefore, any intervention offering a combination of treatment and surveillance can be defined as ISSP.

Clear and Hardyman (1990) argued that to be meaningful, intensive supervision needed to be fundamentally different than regular probation. Provincial youth justice policy makers and community contractors should heed this advice. At a minimum, ISSP should be a structured program that relies on a coordinated and accountable multi-disciplinary case management team that will work collaboratively with youth and families in their home communities. Consideration for young offenders to participate in ISSP should begin at the pre-sentence stage. Through the recommendations contained in a youth probation officer's pre-sentence report or a psychologist's psychological assessment, the Youth Justice Court can be provided guidance as to when it is appropriate to sentence a young person to ISSP. Once sentenced to an ISSP Order, the youth could then be referred and screened into the program (see Figure 5.1).

Once accepted into an ISSP program, there are a number of steps and case management issues that must be considered before treating the young person. A central figure or program coordinator would be a valuable asset in streamlining the intake process to ensure that all the appropriate support and treatment providers were brought together to establish their respect roles and responsibilities with the youth and their family. The ISSP coordinator would also play a

pivotal role in establishing the communication protocols within the multi-disciplinary case management team, coordinating monthly progress reviews, and monitoring program fidelity.

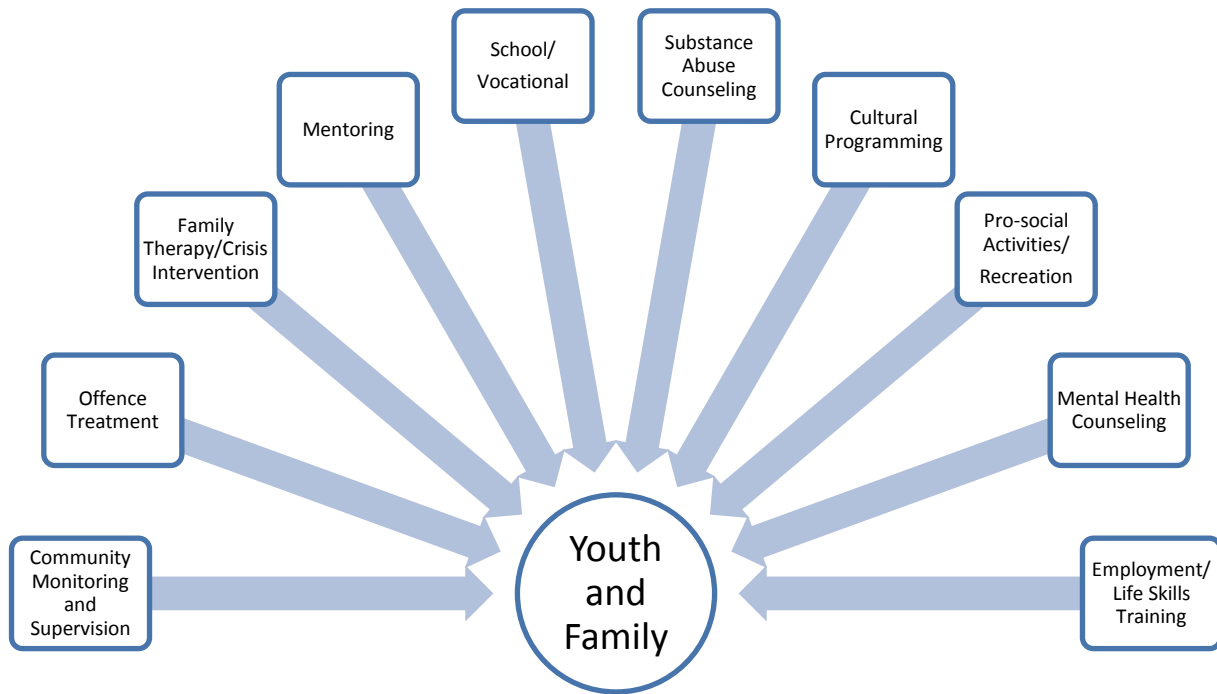
Figure 5.1 Recommended Stages of ISSP



The services available through ISSP should be diverse and adaptable to the particular needs of youth and their family (see Figure 5.2). Each of the recommended elements of ISSP should be undertaken, when at all possible, in a style and manner that best suits the child. For example, an Aboriginal youth should be afforded the opportunity to receive his/her education, vocational training, recreation, substance abuse counseling, mentoring, personal/family counseling, and offence treatment with service providers that are Aboriginal or, at a minimum, understand the history and unique issues of the local Aboriginal population. It is not enough or appropriate to place unique groups, like Aboriginal youth, in garden variety treatment services

typically used for and administered by the cultural majority. A similar argument could also be made for other special offender populations such as female offenders.

Figure 5.2 Recommended Elements of ISSP



Inherent in any youth justice mandated ISSP program is the challenge of gaining a family's trust and their willingness to participate in support and treatment services. Some families will perceive that the responsibility to correct behavior and remedy any problems solely rest with the youth and service providers. In these situations, families cannot be forced to engage in services. However, to maintain program fidelity, these families would have to be screened out during the assessment and referral process.

Ultimately a youth's participation in ISSP cannot exceed the duration of his/her court order, which in Canada is a maximum of two years. According to Hoge (2001), the length of an effective program intervention should be dictated by the needs of youth and their families. The

literature addressing program duration is mixed. While some research suggested that program interventions that exceeded six months in length provided better outcomes for high risk youth (see Lipsey, 1995; Grossman and Rhodes, 2002), others concluded that optimum effectiveness in programming was achieved by the six month mark (see Latimer, Dowden, & Morton-Bourgon, 2003). With this in mind, youth accepted into ISSP should be required to participate for a minimum of six months and up to a maximum of one year.

During the initial six month period, the frequency and intensity of treatment and supervision services should be at their highest. Over time, the service needs of the youth and families involved in ISSP could change, and the case management team members would need to adjust their specific programming areas to reflect those changes. This could involve a reduction in service frequency when the youth and family demonstrate healthy growth and functioning, or increased service intensity when the youth is non-compliant or the family is struggling.

Through monthly progress evaluations, the case management team would assess the necessity of continued participation in ISSP and subsequently plan and prepare for a youth's successful discharge from the program. Considering the potential for high risk youth to incur new charges and/or a number of technical violations, the decision to terminate a youth's involvement in ISSP may be forced if the Youth Justice Court orders the young person to serve a term of custody. In this scenario, the case management team would need to determine the value of accepting the youth back into the program following his/her release back into the community.

Although it has been over seven years since the formal recognition of ISSP as a sentencing option under the YCJA, there have been no published evaluations of the program in Canada. Such evaluations must occur at a provincial or community level. However, when this

endeavor is undertaken, program evaluators should expand the focus from traditional measures of “yes” or “no” recidivism rates to also consider recidivism in terms of frequency and severity.

Future evaluations of ISSP should also take into consideration the overall change in a young offender’s criminogenic risk factors and the development of protective factors. This task could be achieved through the use of a standardized risk assessment tool, clinical functioning assessment, or a series of pre and post intervention interviews. If considering the outcomes for youth in more than one ISSP program, it would be preferable if the program designs and services provided were consistent. If not, the evaluators would need to account for the various services the youth received in the different programs. In any case, the study would have to account for program fidelity to ensure that whatever services were intended to be given, were in fact provided.

Finally, to strengthen the findings of this proposed evaluation, the group of ISSP participants should be compared to a similar population of young offenders who did not participate in ISSP, but rather received standard probation and treatment services. In this way, researchers could control for other influences that may contribute to any positive or negative findings not present in the ISSP intervention. Without conducting a comparative study between ISSP and regular probation youth, Canadian youth justice officials and service providers cannot know with any degree of certainty that ISSP would be significantly more effective in the treatment and rehabilitation of high risk young offenders. Should the results suggest no significant differences between the two approaches, then ISSP in its current state would be deemed superfluous and unnecessary. And in a political and economic climate of “do more with less”, fiscal prudence and program efficiency are what matters most.

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